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THE PAPACY

FROM

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BY

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LL.D. OF GLASGOW AND HARVARD; D.C.L. OF DURHAM; LITT. D. OF DUBLIN

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BOOK II.—continued.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

1414—1418.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN HUS IN BOHEMIA.

1398—1414.

JOHN HUS was born of humble parents in the little village of Husinec in 1369, and rose by his talents and his industry to high fame in the University of Prag. There he began to teach in 1398, and with his friend Nicolas of Leitomysl founded a philosophic school on the basis of the philosophical writings of Wyclif. From Wyclif's philosophy he advanced to Wyclif's theology, which seemed to find an echo in his own moral nature. From the first, however, he saw the dangers to which the acceptance of Wyclif's teaching was likely to lead. 'Oh, Wyclif, Wyclif,' he exclaimed in a sermon, 'you will trouble the heads of many!'[1] Nor was the influence of Hus confined only to academic circles. One of the marks of the religious activity produced by the preaching of Milicz was the foundation in Prag by a wealthy burgher of a chapel called Bethlehem, for the purpose of procuring for the Tchecks sermons in their native tongue. The nomination of Hus as priest of the Chapel of Bethlehem in 1402 gave him the means of appealing forcibly to the popular mind.

Early life of Hus.

[1] See Palacky, *Documenta*, 168, 'Et dixi et scripsi, O Wickleff, Wickleff, nejednomu ty hlawu *zwikles?*' The exclamation is doubtless of the nature of a pun—*zwikles* meaning 'you will disturb'. The library of Stockholm possesses a copy of five philosophical treatises of Wyclif, written in the hand of Hus in 1398, with copious marginal notes. See Dudik, *Schwedische Reise*, p. 198. On the whole question of Hus's relation to Wyclif see Lozerth, *Wyclif and Huss*.

Position of Hus.

Hus summed up in his own person all the political and religious aspirations of the Tchecks, and gave them clear, forcible expression in his sermons. Sprung from the people, he maintained that Bohemia ought to be for the Bohemians, as Germany was for the Germans, and France for the French. Of pure and austere life, his countenance bore the traces of constant self-denial, and his loftiness of purpose lent force to his words. From the time that he undertook the Chapel of Bethlehem he devoted himself to the work of popular preaching, and his penetrating intelligence, his clearness of expression, his splendid eloquence, made his sermons produce a more lasting impression than the more impassioned harangues of Conrad or the more mystical and imaginative discourses of Milicz. He exactly expressed the thoughts that were surging in the minds of the people, and gave them definiteness and form. It was clear that Hus was not merely a popular preacher; he threatened to become the founder of a new school of religious thought.

Condemnation of Wyclif's opinions by the University of Prag. 1403.

At first Hus followed in the same lines as his predecessors, and strove to bring about a moral reformation of the Church by means of the existing authorities. The feebleness of the Archbishop of Prag, his death, and a long vacancy in the see left the ground open for the Wyclifite teachers; but in 1403 a reaction set in. The office of rector of the University passed by rotation from the Bohemians to the Germans, and it was proposed to affirm in Bohemia the acts of the Council of London in 1382, which condemned the writings of Wyclif. It was a great matter for the opponents of the reforming party to be able to identify their teaching with that of one who had been already condemned for heresy. Though the reforming movement in Bohemia had an independent existence, it borrowed its principles from England with remarkable docility. Wyclif's writings supplied the philosophical basis which was wanting in Bohemia, and Hus was willing to be judged as a pupil of the great English

philosopher and divine. A German master of the University, John Hubner, laid before the Chapter of Prag the twenty-four articles of Wyclif's teaching condemned by the Synod of London, and added twenty-one of his own discovery. These forty-five articles were submitted to the University on May 28, 1403. Wyclif's followers contented themselves with protesting that the articles were not to be found in Wyclif's writings; but after some warm discussion the majority condemned the articles laid before them, and a decree was passed that no member of the University was to teach them either in public or in private.

This decree of the University, however, produced no effect. The new Archbishop of Prag, Zbynek, was no theologian, and was attracted by the earnestness of Hus. The clerical party had no hope of help from him, and applied directly to Innocent VII., who, in 1405, addressed to the Archbishop a monition to greater diligence in rooting out the errors and heresy of Wyclif. Little, however, was done in this direction, perhaps owing to the influence of Hus, who was so trusted by the Archbishop that he requested him to bring before his notice any defects of ecclesiastical discipline which, in his opinion, needed correction. Moreover, the position of Hus as confessor to Queen Sophia gave him considerable influence at Court, and Wenzel was so indignant at the refusal of Innocent VII., and afterwards of Gregory XII., to recognise him as Emperor, that he had no objection to see a more independent ecclesiastical party establishing itself in his kingdom.

Hus trusted by Archbishop Zbynek. 1403-1406.

But affairs soon destroyed this agreement between Hus and the Archbishop and Court. Zbynek was beginning to be exercised in his mind at the frequent discussions about the Eucharist, and in 1406 published a pastoral defining what he considered to be the true doctrine. The preparations for the Council of Pisa exercised great influence over Wenzel, who hoped to secure from the Council, or the Council's Pope, a recog-

Archbishop Zbynek proceeds against Wyclifite doctrines. 1406-1408.

nition of his Imperial title, but saw that for this end he must be ready to purge his kingdom of its reputation for heresy. In May, 1408, the condemned opinions of Wyclif were read over to a congregation of the Bohemian nation of the University, and lectures or disputations on the words of Wyclif were forbidden. Some of the Bohemian masters were tried for heresy before the Archbishop's court, and a letter of Hus to the Archbishop, couched in lofty tones of moral remonstrance, besought him not to punish the lowly priests who were striving to do their duty in preaching the Gospel, when there were so many of their accusers who were given up to avarice and luxury.[1] From this time a breach was made between Hus and the Archbishop, which went on increasing. The Archbishop, however, satisfied with his victory for the present, declared in a provincial synod on July 17, 1408, that no heretics were to be found in his diocese: he ordered all the books of Wyclif to be burned, and enjoined on the clergy to preach transubstantiation to the people.

Influence of the Council of Pisa on Wenzel's policy. 1408-1409.

The questions raised by the Schism of the Papacy gave Hus and his party unexpected help. Wenzel was desirous to have his kingdom cleared of the charge of heresy, that he might more decidedly take part in the negotiations about the summons of the Council of Pisa. He was ill-disposed to Gregory XII., who carried out his predecessor's policy, and continued to recognise Rupert as King of the Romans. Wenzel was urged by the French Court to join in the Council of Pisa, and, on November 24, wrote to the Cardinals that he was willing to do so, provided his ambassadors were received as those of the King of the Romans. Meanwhile he wished to withdraw from the allegiance of Gregory XII. and declare neutrality within his kingdom. The reforming party naturally hoped for some changes in their favour from a Council, and supported the King's desire. Archbishop

[1] Palacky, *Documenta*, p. 3.

Zbynek and the orthodox party opposed it. When the King appealed to the University of Prag, the Bohemians were on his side; the Germans sided with the Archbishop. The question of the neutrality drew together the Bohemian masters in the University. Many who had combated Hus as a heretic were now with him. The King's anger gave the Bohemian academic party an opportunity of gaining a triumph over their German adversaries. A deputation, of whom Hus was one, represented to the King the grievances of the Bohemians, who had only one vote in the University, while the Germans had three. They urged that the Bohemian masters had increased in number, while the Germans had diminished; in learning, as well as in numbers, the Bohemians were at least equal to the Germans. While they were young they were content to be in bondage; but now the fulness of time was come, when they need no more be regarded as servants, but heirs of all that the original foundation of Charles IV. had meant to bestow upon them.[1] The cause of the Bohemian masters was warmly applauded by some of Wenzel's favourites, and also by the ambassadors of France. On January 18, 1409, the King issued an angry decree that it was unjust that the Germans, who were foreigners, should have three votes and the true heirs of the kingdom only one: he ordered that henceforth the Bohemians should have three votes and the Germans one. On January 22 he published a decree renouncing the obedience of Gregory XII.

The Tchecks were triumphant. Hus in a sermon openly thanked God for this victory over the Germans. Popular excitement ran high, and the Germans in vain strove to resist. They declared that they would leave the University rather than obey. They refused to elect any officials, and when the King nominated them by royal authority the German masters

The German masters quit the University of Prag. 1409.

[1] Cf. the arguments brought forward in a tractate assigned to Hus, but which Palacky with greater probability assigns to John of Jansinec.—Palacky, *Documenta*, 355, etc.

carried their threat into execution and left Prag. According to the most moderate computation,[1] two thousand are said to have departed, leaving but scanty remnants behind.

Results of this to Germany and Bohemia.

This hasty, passionate step of Wenzel was the destruction of the European importance of the University of Prag, and was a decisive moment in the intellectual development of Germany. The emigrant masters formed a new university at Leipzig, and many of them went to the young universities of Germany. Henceforth there was no great centre of learning in Germany, and a powerful bond of national union was lost. But the loss was counterbalanced by the vigorous growth of scattered universities, which leavened more thoroughly with the traditions of learning the mass of the German people. The importance of Prag as one of the great cities of the world began to decline, and the strife of Germans and Tchecks was no longer to be contested, when it could most surely have been healed, in the bloodless sphere of academic disputation. More immediate consequences followed on this decree of Wenzel. He had wished only to pave the way to his adhesion to the Council of Pisa; he kindled into a flame the smouldering spirit of the Bohemian people, and did much to identify the nation with the cause of ecclesiastical reform. This great national victory was also a victory for the reformers. But it was won at a heavy cost; the enemy was baffled, not crushed. The emigrant masters were dispersed throughout Germany, filled with hatred of

[1] That of Æneas Sylvius, *Hist. Bohem.*, c. 35: 'Uno die supra duo millia Pragam reliquere, nec diu post circiter tria millia secuti'. Some writers put it at 20,000, some even at 40,000, but accurate statistics are a growth of modern times, and mediæval numbers constantly present gross improbabilities. A paper by Drobisch, in *Verhandlungen der Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1849, i., 69, etc., founded on an examination of the records of degrees conferred yearly, computes that the University of Prag at its most flourishing epoch did not exceed 4000 students, and at this time numbered about 2500. We may allow that nearly 2000 quitted it. I have followed this computation in assigning numbers to the University of Prag. The generally received number of its students is 11,000.

their victorious rivals. They spread far and wide the story of their woes; they painted in the blackest colours the wickedness, the impiety of the Bohemians. When we seek afterwards for the causes which led Germany to pour its crusading bands upon the Bohemian land, we may find it in the bitterness which the woes of the emigrant students carried into all quarters.

Meanwhile Wenzel was satisfied with the results of his measure, and its meaning was clearly shown by the election of Hus as the first rector of the mutilated University. The Cardinals and the Council of Pisa received Wenzel's ambassadors, disavowed Rupert, and restored to Wenzel in the eyes of Christendom his lofty position as King of the Romans. When the Council's Pope had been duly elected, on Wenzel would naturally devolve the duty of securing his universal recognition. But Wenzel found with shame that he was powerless even in his own land. Archbishop Zbynek refused to recognise Alexander V., and was supported by the clergy; he even laid Prag under an interdict. Wenzel replied by confiscating the goods of those clergy who joined the Archbishop in withdrawing from Prag. Zbynek was driven to submit, and reluctantly acknowledged Alexander V. in September, 1409. These events, however, kindled anew the animosity of the Bohemians against the clergy, and arrayed the Court, the reformers, and the Bohemian people against the Germans and the clergy. The Archbishop's mind became more and more exasperated against Hus, who had preached loudly in the King's behalf, and he prepared to wipe away in a conflict with Hus the discomfiture which he had undergone. Articles against Hus had already, before the end of 1408, been presented to the Archbishop, complaining that he defamed the clergy in his sermons and brought them into contempt with the people. In 1409 new articles were presented, and Hus was summoned to answer before the Archbishop's inquisitor to charges of defaming the clergy, speaking in praise of Wyclif, and kindling contention

Bull of Alexander V. against heresy in Bohemia. December 20, 1409.

between Germans and Bohemians.[1] Hus does not seem to have appeared to answer to these charges: indeed, a counter charge was raised against the Archbishop in the Papal court, and Alexander V., who can have felt little goodwill to Zbynek, summoned him to answer to these charges. The summons, however, was soon countermanded, as the Archbishop's envoys laid before the Pope an account of ecclesiastical matters in Bohemia, and Alexander V. became impressed with the gravity of the situation. He issued a Bull from Pistoia on December 20, bidding the Archbishop appoint a commission of six doctors, who were to purge his diocese from heresy, forbid the spread of Wyclif's doctrines, and remove from the eyes of the faithful the books of Wyclif. Appeals to the Pope by those accused on any of these points were disallowed beforehand by the Bull.

Hus protests against the Bull. July, 1410.

When this Bull was published in Prag the reformers felt that for a time they must bow before the storm. Hus himself brought to the Archbishop the books of Wyclif which he possessed, with a request that Zbynek would point out the errors which they contained, and he was ready to combat them in public. Zbynek's commissioners contented themselves with reporting that Wyclif's writings, which they specified by name, contained manifest heresy and error, and were to be condemned. Whereupon, on June 16, the Archbishop ordered the books to be burned, denounced Wyclif's opinions and prohibited all teaching in private places and chapels. Already, on June 14, the University had met and protested against the condemnation of the books of Wyclif, asserting, as was true, that the Archbishop and his commissioners had not had time to examine their contents. On June 20 they renewed their protest, and Hus, seeing himself pushed to extremities, proceeded to a bold step in defiance of ecclesiastical authority. Alexander V. was dead, and there was a chance that his

[1] See Palacky, *Documenta*, 164, for the articles, with Hus's answer to each, written on the MS., but apparently not till the year 1414, shortly before setting out to Constance.

successor might be disposed to reconsider the Bohemian question. Disregarding the Archbishop's decree, Hus again ascended the pulpit in his Chapel of Bethlehem; disregarding the Bull of Alexander V., he appealed from a Pope wrongly informed to a Pope better informed. He called upon the people, he called upon his congregation, to support him in the line which he resolved to pursue. He read the Pope's Bull, the Archbishop's decree: he recalled the previous declaration of Zbynek that there were no heretics in Bohemia; he declared the charges contained in the Bull to be untrue. 'They are lies, they are lies,' exclaimed with one voice the congregation. 'I have appealed, I do appeal,' continued Hus, 'against the Archbishop's decrees. Will you be on my side?' 'We will, we will,' was the enthusiastic answer. 'Know, then,' he went on, 'that, since it is my duty to preach, my purpose stands to do so, or be driven beyond the earth or die in prison; for man may lie, but God lies not. Think of this, ye who purpose to stand by me, and have no fear of excommunication for joining in my appeal.'[1] The language of the appeal itself was equally resolute. The Bull of Alexander V., it affirms, was surreptitiously obtained by Zbynek on false grounds; its authority came to an end with Alexander's death, and Zbynek's decrees were therefore invalid. As for Wyclif's books, even if they contained some errors, theological students ought not to be prohibited from reading them. The Archbishop's decree closing the chapels was an attempt to hinder the preaching of the Gospel and could not be obeyed, for 'we must obey God rather than men in things which are necessary for salvation'. The decisive step of a breach with the ecclesiastical system had now been taken. Hus asserted, as against authority, the sanction of the individual conscience, and he called on those who thought with him to array themselves on his side. Hus had stepped from the position of a reformer to that of a revolutionist.

[1] This account is given in a report sent to the Pope, in Palacky, *Documenta*, 405.

Zbynek was not slow to take up the challenge. Wenzel in vain strove to arrange a compromise. On July 16 the Archbishop gathered the clergy round him, and in solemn state burned two hundred volumes of Wyclif's writings which had been surrendered to him. The 'Te Deum' was chanted during the ceremony, and all the church bells in Prag rang out a joyous peal in honour of the event. Two days afterwards Zbynek excommunicated Hus and all who had joined in his appeal, as disobedient and impugners of the Catholic faith.

Archbishop Zbynek burns the writings of Wyclif. July, 1410.

If by these strong measures Zbynek hoped to overawe the people he was entirely mistaken. Epigrams on the man who burned the books he had not read passed from mouth to mouth; songs declared that it was done to spite the Tchecks. When the Archbishop came in state to the cathedral door, accompanied by forty clergy, to pronounce the excommunication against Hus, the uproar of the people forced him to retire for safety into the church. Wenzel, though hostile to the Archbishop, found it necessary to interfere, and in a high-handed way devised a compromise. Libellous songs were prohibited on pain of death; the Archbishop was ordered to pay back to the owners of the books he had burned their value, and to withdraw his excommunication. When he hesitated his revenues were seized for the purpose. Wenzel also wrote to Pope John XXIII., asserting that Bohemia was free from heresy, and begging him to revoke the Bull of Alexander V., which had produced nothing but mischief and ill-feeling. But the Archbishop had forestalled the King at the Papal Court; he had sent Hus's appeal and a statement of his own case. John XXIII. referred the matter to Cardinal Oddo Colonna, afterwards Pope Martin V., who lost no time in making his decision. In a letter dated from Bologna, August 24, he enjoined the Archbishop to proceed according to the Bull of Alexander V., and if necessary to call in the secular arm to his aid; Hus was summoned to appear personally at the Papal Court to answer for himself.

This letter reached Prag soon after Wenzel's letter to the Pope had been despatched. The Archbishop triumphed, but Wenzel felt himself personally aggrieved, and wrote again to the Pope, asserting that there was no ground of fear for the religious condition of his kingdom; he took Hus under his personal protection, begged the Pope to withdraw his summons, confirm the privileges of the Chapel of Bethlehem, and allow Hus to continue in peace his useful ministrations. The friends of Hus gathered round him and loudly declared that they would not suffer him to be exposed to the perils of a journey to Rome through lands that were filled with his bitter enemies. But John XXIII. naturally thought that opinions reflecting on the luxury, worldly lives, and evil living of the clergy ought not to be allowed free scope. In spite of Wenzel's remonstrances, Hus was declared by Cardinal Colonna contumacious for not appearing, and was pronounced excommunicated (February, 1411).

Hus excommunicated for contumacy by Cardinal Colonna. February, 1411.

Political considerations, however, soon admonished John XXIII. to pay more heed to Wenzel's requests. The death of Jobst of Moravia (January 17, 1411) left the title of King of the Romans in the hands of one or other of the brothers, Wenzel or Sigismund. Sigismund was still an adherent of Gregory XII.; and John XXIII. felt that it would not be wise to drive Wenzel to join his brother; moreover, he hoped for Wenzel's aid in bringing over Sigismund to his own obedience. He therefore resolved to procrastinate in the matter of Hus, and transferred the cause from the hands of Cardinal Colonna to those of a new commission, which allowed the matter to stand over. The sentence of excommunication against Hus was not rescinded, and the Archbishop ordered it to be promulgated in Prag. Little attention was paid to it, and Zbynek, already infuriated by the seizure of his goods to pay for the books which he had burnt, laid Prag under an interdict. Wenzel in great wrath drove out the priests, who, in obedience to the Archbishop, refused to perform the

Temporary truce. 1411.

services, and seized their goods. The nobles were always ready to stand by the King when they could lay hands on the property of the clergy, whose riches they looked upon with a jealous eye. Zbynek, who hoped by his extreme measure to strike terror into Wenzel and the people, found himself entirely mistaken. With the example of John of Jenstein before his eyes, he did not think it wise to exasperate the King further or to trust to the Pope for help in extremities. Most probably John XXIII. privately advised him to make peace with the King. At all events he agreed to submit his disputes with Hus and the University to arbiters appointed by Wenzel, who gave their decision (July 6) that the Archbishop should submit to the King, should write to the Pope saying that there were no heresies in Bohemia, and that the disputes between himself and the University were at an end, that all excommunications should be recalled and all suits suspended. The King on his side was to do all he could to check the growth of error, and was to restore all benefices taken from the clergy. To this Zbynek was forced to consent. But the letter to the Pope, though written, was never sent. Before the disputed points could be practically arranged, Zbynek died, on September 28. He was a man of blameless life and high character. Hus sincerely regretted his death and honoured him for his attempts to reform the lives and morals of the clergy. He had been his friend in the early part of his episcopate, and Hus considered the persecution of himself as due to the Archbishop's advisers, not to himself. The new Archbishop, Albik, was an old man, who knew and cared little about theology. He was Wenzel's physician, and was of an easy disposition, rich and avaricious ; nothing but the dread of Wenzel's displeasure drove him to accept the office of Archbishop. Under him it seemed as though peace would be again restored, and there was quiet for a while.

Hus, however, had, unknown to himself, drifted far away from the old ecclesiastical system. His conscience had become more sensitive, and his feeling that he must guard

against offending the conscience of others had become more intense. Hitherto he had raised the voice of moral reproach against the abuses of the clergy; occasion soon drove him to raise the same protest against the abuses of the Papacy itself. John XXIII., in his struggle against Ladislas, appealed to Christendom for help. He issued Bulls of excommunication, proclaimed a crusade, promised indulgences to the faithful who took part in it, and sent commissioners to stir up their zeal. The Papal legate in Bohemia for this purpose, Wenzel Tiem, Dean of Passau, was not wanting in energy. Three chests were put up in public places to receive contributions; indulgences were preached in the market-place, and those who had no money might pay in kind. The parish clergy were enlisted in the legate's service, and used the confessional as a means of extorting money.[1]

Protest of Hus against the sale of indulgences. June, 1412.

There was nothing new in this, nothing exceptionally scandalous. Yet it set the whole nature of Hus in revolt. He denounced the crusade as opposed to Christian charity; he vehemently attacked the methods by which money was being raised. In vain the theological faculty of the University dissented from him, pointing out that it was, and had been for centuries, the belief of Christendom that the Pope could give remission of sins, and that he was justified in calling on the faithful to help him in time of need. In spite of the efforts of the University to prevent it, Hus held a public disputation against the Pope's Bull on June 7, 1412. Hus in his argument discussed the two questions of the validity of indulgences and the justice of a crusade. While admitting the priestly power of absolution, he urged that its efficacy depended on the true repentance of him who received it, and that God only knew who were predestinated to salvation. Neither priest nor Pope could grant privileges

[1] So says Hus. Palacky, *Documenta*, 223: 'Populum taxarunt mirabiliter in confessionibus ut pactatam conquirerent pecuniam'. The Archbishop in vain tried to check this by issuing a letter 'quod populus in confessionibus non taxetur'.—*Ibid.*, 451.

contrary to the law of Christ; in following the example of Christ could salvation most surely be obtained.[1] Hus's subtle arguments met with many answers, but his fiery scholar Jerome of Prag by a storm of eloquence so carried away the younger scholars that they escorted him in triumph home. In the general excitement the noisiest and least thoughtful spirits, as usual, took the lead. One of the King's favourites, Wok of Waldstein, organised a piece of buffoonery which was meant to be a reprisal for the burning of Wyclif's books two years before. A student, dressed as a courtesan, was seated in a car with the Pope's Bull fastened round his neck; surrounded by a motley throng, the car was drawn through the city to the Neustadt, where the Bull was burnt (June 24).

Tumult in Prag. July, 1412.

Wenzel was naturally indignant at this uproar, and ordered the magistrates of the city to punish with death those who spoke against the indulgences. On Sunday, July 10, three young men of the lower orders were apprehended for having cried out in churches that the indulgences were a lie. In vain Hus, accompanied by two thousand students, pleaded before the magistrates in behalf of the prisoners. Their fault, he said, was his: if any one ought to suffer, it was himself. The magistrates gave him a fair answer, but a few hours afterwards, on Monday afternoon, the three prisoners were brought out for execution, surrounded by armed men. A vast crowd followed the procession in solemn silence. When the executioner proclaimed, 'All who do like them must expect their punishment,' many voices exclaimed that they were ready to do and suffer the same. A band of students took possession of the three corpses, and, chanting the martyr's psalm, 'Isti sunt sancti,' bore them to the Chapel of Bethlehem, where they were solemnly buried. The first blood had been shed in the religious strife in Bohemia; the reformation had won its

[1] These arguments were afterwards put in shape by Hus and published: 'Disputatio adversus Indulgentias Papales'. Hus, *Opera*, i., 215, etc.

first martyrs. Hus declared in a sermon that he would not part with their bodies for thousands of gold and silver.

The opponents of Hus felt that he could not be silenced by means of the University, where a large majority was on his side. They accordingly had recourse to the royal authority, and asked Wenzel to forbid the teaching of the forty-five articles taken from the writings of Wyclif, which had been condemned in 1408. To these were added six new articles bearing on the present disturbance, condemning the opinion that priestly absolution was not in itself effectual but merely declaratory,[1] and the opinion that the Pope might not ask for subsidies in his temporal needs. Wenzel forbade under pain of banishment the teaching of any of these condemned articles, but refused to go further and prohibit from preaching those who were accused as prime causes of the late disturbance. Not content with the aid of the King, the clergy of Prag also complained to the Pope. John XXIII., naturally incensed at the news of this defiance offered in Bohemia to his authority, handed over the trial of Hus to Cardinal Annibaldi, who lost no time in pronouncing against Hus the greater excommunication: if within twenty days he did not submit to the Church, none were to speak to him or receive him into their houses; the offices of the Church were to cease when he was present, and the sentence against him was to be solemnly read in all churches in Bohemia every Sunday. Nor was this all. By a second decree all the faithful were required to seize the person of Hus and deliver him to the Archbishop of Prag or the Bishop of Leitomysl to be burned; his Chapel of Bethlehem was to be levelled with the ground.

Excommunication of Hus. 1412.

The denunciations of the Papacy have never been lacking in severity, but they have rarely been carried at once into effect. Hus appealed from the Pope to Jesus Christ, the

[1] 'Quod sacerdotes non absolvunt a peccatis nec dimittunt peccata ministerialiter, conferendo et applicando sacramentum pœnitentiæ, sed quod solum denuntiant confitentem absolutum *est error*.'—Palacky, *Documenta*, 455.

true head of the Church; it was a curious piece of formalism to maintain himself still within the communion of the Church. His foes were ready to proceed against him: so long as he was in Prag the interdict was rigidly observed by the clergy. But the resolute attitude of his friends portended a bloody conflict. Wenzel interfered to prevent it, and prevailed on Hus, for the sake of keeping the peace, to leave Prag for a time; he promised to do his utmost to reconcile him with the clergy. Hus obeyed the royal request, though with a feeling that he was forsaking his post, and left Prag in December, 1412.

Hus goes into exile. 1412-13.

Wenzel was genuinely anxious to have things amicably settled, and appointed a Commission, with the Archbishop at its head, to draw up the terms of a reconciliation. But when once theological disputes arise, every step towards a formal agreement is keenly criticised. The representatives of the University theologians objected to be called in the preamble 'a party'; they declared that they expressed the opinions of the Church; they defined the Church as that 'whose present head was Pope John XXIII., and whose body was the Cardinals, and the opinions of that Church must be obeyed in all concerning the Catholic faith'. The friends of Hus were willing to accept this with the addition 'as far as a good and faithful Christian ought'. The four doctors who represented the University objected, and protested against the Commissioners.[1] Wenzel regarded them as throwing wilful hindrances in the way of his project of peace, and angrily banished them from his kingdom.

Wenzel attempts to make peace. 1413.

This victory of the followers of Hus was followed by a political triumph that was of still greater importance. The strength of Hus's party in Prag lay in the Bohemians, and the strength of the orthodox party lay in the German middle class. Prag consisted of three separate municipalities. On the left bank of the Moldau lay the Old Town and the New

[1] The account of this is given by one of the University doctors, Stephen Palecz, in Palacky, *Documenta*, 507.

Town; on the right bank of the Moldau the Little Town nestled round the cathedral and the royal palace of the Hradschin. In the New Town the Tchecks were in a majority; but in the Old Town the municipal council was chiefly in the hands of the well-to-do Germans, which accounts for the vigour displayed by the magistracy in suppressing all objections to the sale of indulgences. In latey ears the struggle of Germans and Tchecks had been bitter within the Old Town; and Wenzel, in pursuit of his pacific policy, ordered, on October 21, 1413, that henceforth the names of twenty-five Germans and twenty-five Bohemians be submitted to him, from whom he would choose eighteen, nine from each nation, who should constitute the Council. From this time the superiority of the Germans was broken, and they no longer had the government of the Old Town in their hands.

Wenzel's repressive measures produced external peace for a time. Hus in his exile spread his opinions still more widely throughout the land. Tractates and addresses to the people flowed unceasingly from his pen, as well as his great treatise 'De Ecclesia'. Freed from the excitement which had constantly attended his last six years in Prag, the literary activity of Hus was now unimpeded. Nor must Hus be regarded only as a controversialist; he was the great framer of the Bohemian tongue. He adapted the Roman alphabet more fully to the expression of the Tcheck sounds; and the orthography which Hus introduced exists up to this day in Bohemia. He was, moreover, anxious for the purity of the Tcheck language, reproved the citizens of Prag for their combination of German and Tcheck, and was in his own writings and speech a linguistic purist.

Literary activity of Hus.

In the treatise 'De Ecclesia' Hus expresses most clearly his opinions, though it is not as a thinker that Hus owes his chief claim to the consideration of after times. His strength lay in his moral rather than in his intellectual qualities. His opinions were not logically

Theological opinions of Hus.

developed, as were those of Wyclif, but for that very reason they awakened a louder echo amongst his hearers. Hus was deeply impressed with the abuses of the ecclesiastical system, which were everywhere apparent. He was above all things a preacher, bent upon awakening men to a new spiritual life, and keenly sensitive of the difficulties thrown in his way by the failings and vices of the clergy. Hus had no wish to attack the system of the Roman Church, no wish to act in opposition to its established rules; he maintained conscientiously to the last that he was a faithful son of the Roman Church. But the necessity of attacking abuses led him on step by step to set up the law of Christ as superior to all other enactments, as sufficient in itself for the regulation of the Church; and this law of Christ he defined as the law of the Gospel as laid down by Christ during the sojourn on earth of Himself and the Apostles.[1] His adversaries at once pointed out that, starting from this principle, he maintained the right of each individual to interpret Scripture according to his own pleasure, and so introduced disorder into the Church.

Besides this claim for the sufficiency of Scripture instead of ecclesiastical tradition, Hus, from his deep moral earnestness, adopted the Augustinian view of predestination, and defined the true Church as the body of the elect. There were true Christians and false Christians; it was one thing to be *in* the Church and another thing to be *of* the Church. Those only were of the Church who by the grace of predestination were made members of Christ. The Pope was not the head of the Church, but was only the Vicar of Peter, chief of the Apostles; and the Pope was only Vicar of Peter so far as he followed in the steps of Peter. Spiritual power was given that those who exercised it might lead the people to imitate Christ; it is to be resisted if it hinders them in

[1] See the tractate written at Constance in 1414, 'De Sufficientia Legis Christi,' *Opera*, i., 57. 'Voco autem, ne fiat æquivocatio, Legem Christi Evangelicam, legem a Christo pro tempore suæ viationis et Apostolorum expositam ad regimen militantis ecclesiæ.'

that duty.[1] The Pope cannot claim an absolute obedience; his commands are to be obeyed only as being founded on the law of Christ, and if contrary thereto ought to be resisted.[2] No ecclesiastical censures ought to prevent a priest from fulfilling the commands of Christ, for he can reach the kingdom of heaven under the leadership of his Master, Christ.[3] We find in this much that reminds us of Wyclif; but what Wyclif reasoned out calmly, with a full sense of the difficulties involved in his view, Hus asserts with passionate earnestness, applying only so much of his principles as covers his own position at the time. The ideas of Hus were drawn from Wyclif; and the conception of the Church as a purely spiritual body corresponded in many ways with the general tendencies of current opinion. The language of Hus might be paralleled on some points by the language of Gerson and D'Ailly. All who were anxious for reform, and saw that reform was hopeless through the Papacy, tended to criticise the Papal power in the same strain. It is the strong personality of the writer that attracts us in the case of Hus. Everything he writes is the result of his own soul's experience, is penetrated with a deep moral earnestness, illumined by a boldness and a self-forgetfulness that breathe the spirit of the cry, 'Let God be true and every man a liar'.

In this literary activity Hus spent his exile from Prag. He was in constant communication with his followers there, and his letters of encouragement to them in their trials, and of exhortation to approve their opinions by goodness of life, give us a touching picture of simple, earnest piety rooted on

[1] 'De Ecclesia,' *Opera*, i., 271: 'Veraces Christicolæ debent cuilibet potestati prætensæ resistere, quæ nititur eos ab imitatione Christi vi vel subdole removere'.

[2] *Ibid.*, 293: 'Si autem cognoscit veraciter quod mandatum Papæ obviat mandato vel consilio Christi, vel vergit in aliquod malum ecclesiæ, tunc debet audacter resistere ne sit particeps criminis ex consensu'.

[3] *Ibid.*, 317: 'Benedictus quoque sit Christus summus Romanus Pontifex, qui dedit gratiam suis fidelibus, quod non existente aliquo Romano Pontifice pro dato tempore ad cæli patriam possunt duce Christo Domino pervenire',

a deep consciousness of God's abiding presence. These letters show us neither a fanatic nor a passionate party-leader, but a man of childlike spirit, whose one desire was to discharge faithfully his pastoral duties and do all things as in the sight of God and not of man.[1]

Hus agrees to go to the Council of Constance. 1414.

Thus passed the year 1413. There was truce between the two parties in Bohemia, but both were eagerly expecting what the future might bring. John XXIII.'s Council in Rome at the beginning of the year had condemned the writings of Wyclif, but the proceedings of the Council were too trivial to awaken much attention. But when the Council of Constance was first announced, both sides felt that it must have a decisive influence on the state of affairs in Bohemia. John was anxious to bring into prominence the Bohemian dispute; it was the one question that might stave off for a while any discussion of the reform of the Church. In fact, the Bohemian movement rested entirely upon a desire for reform: it put before Christendom one set of principles, one way of procedure which would make a thorough reform of the Church possible. Though John did not know much about theology, he knew enough about human nature to feel convinced that the principles of the Bohemian reformers would not commend themselves to the ecclesiastical hierarchy assembled in the Council. He trusted that the difficulties which their discussion might raise would blunt the earnestness of the reformers in the Council, by identifying their cause with principles that were clearly subversive of the order of the Church. Sigismund on his side was urged by his vanity as well as his self-interest to use the prestige of a united Christendom to reduce into order Bohemia, of which, as his brother Wenzel was childless, he was the heir. Accordingly he lost no time in negotiating with Hus that he should appear before the Council and plead his own cause. He offered Hus his safe-conduct, promised to procure him

[1] These letters are given in Palacky, *Documenta*, 34-66.

an audience before the Council and to afford him a safe return in case his matter was not decided to his satisfaction.[1] Hus's friends besought him not to go. 'Assuredly you will be condemned,' they pleaded. They warned him not to trust too much to Sigismund's safe-conduct. But Hus considered it to be his duty to go and make profession of his faith, in spite of all dangers: he had not considered that he was called upon to risk his life in going before the Pope two years ago, but now he had a safe-conduct against the perils of the journey, and had hopes of appearing before a competent and impartial tribunal. He set out on his journey to Constance on October 11, amidst the sad forebodings of his friends. 'God be with you,' said a good shoemaker as he bade him farewell; 'God be with you: I fear you will never come back.'

Journey of Hus to Constance. 1414.

Hus was anxious to be in good time at the Council, so he left Prag before he had received the promised safe-conduct from Sigismund. He was escorted by two Bohemian barons, Wenzel of Duba and John of Chlum, who were afterwards joined by a third, Henry of Latzenborck. On his journey Hus sent before him, into the various towns through which he passed, public notices that he was going to Constance to clear himself of heresy, and that those who had any accusation against him should prepare to present it before the Council. Everywhere he was received with respectful curiosity by the people, and in many cases by the clergy. The Germans no longer saw in Hus a national antagonist, but rather a religious reformer. They were willing to stand neutral until the Council had pronounced its decision on his doctrines.[2]

[1] This was how Hus regarded the undertaking of Sigismund's envoy, as he writes from Constance (Palacky, *Documenta*, p. 114): 'Mihi intimavit per Henricum Lefl et per alios, quod vellet mihi ordinare sufficientem audientiam, et si me non submitterem judicio, quod vellet me dirigere vice versa'. In the same sense is Hus's letter, dated Prag, September 1, 1414, written in answer to Sigismund's offers: 'Intendo humiliter collum subjicere et sub protectionis vestræ salvo conductu in proximo Constantiensi concilio comparere'.—*Documenta*, p. 70.

[2] A letter of Hus from Nürnberg, October 20, gives an interesting account of his reception; he says, 'nullum adhuc sensi inimicum'.—Palacky, *Doc.*, 76, also the account of Peter of Mladenowic, Secretary of John of Chlum, *Documenta*, 245.

On November 3, Hus entered Constance and took up his abode in the house of a good widow close by the Schnetzthor. His arrival was announced by John of Chlum and Henry of Latzenborck to the Pope, who assured them that he wished to do nothing by violence. In the true style of a condottiere general he said that, even if Hus had killed his own brother, he should be safe in Constance.[1] On November 3, Wenzel of Duba, who had ridden from Nürnberg to Sigismund, returned with the royal safe-conduct, which ordered all men to give Hus free passage and allow him to stay or return at pleasure.[2] In full confidence for the future, in the simple belief that a plain statement of his real opinions would suffice to clear away all misrepresentations, and that the truth would prevail, Hus awaited the opening of the Council. He expected that Sigismund would arrive at Christmas, and that the Council, if not dissolved before, would have finished all its business by Easter.

[1] Mladenowic, in Palacky, *Documenta*, 246.

[2] The document is given by Mladenowic (*Doc.*, 238): 'Transire, stare, morari, et redire libere permittatis'.

CHAPTER V.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE BOHEMIAN REFORMERS.

1414—1416.

FROM his lodging by the city wall Hus looked out with surprise on the assembling of the Council, on the pomp that signified the arrival of princes of the Church; but he had no enthusiasm in his heart. He saw only the vice and luxury that accompanied this gathering of the faithful. 'Would that you could see this Council,' he wrote afterwards to his Bohemian friends, 'which is called most holy and infallible; truly you would see great wickedness, so that I have been told by Suabians that Constance could not in thirty years be purged of the sins which the Council has committed in the city.'[1] Hus stayed quietly in his house, for he was still excommunicated, and the place where he was lay under an interdict. The Pope sent him a message saying that the interdict was suspended, and that he was at liberty to visit the churches of Constance; but, to avoid scandal, he was not to be present at High Mass. Hus seems to have made no use of this permission; he was busily employed at home in preparing for his defence.

Hus and the opening of the Council.

Meanwhile his enemies were actively engaged in poisoning the Council against him. Chief amongst his opponents were the Bishop of Leitomysl and Michael of Nemecky Brod, who had formerly been a priest in Prag, but had been appointed by the Pope 'procurator

Enemies of Hus at Constance.

[1] Palacky, *Documenta*, 138.

de causis fidei,' and from his office was generally called Michael de Causis. There too was Wenzel Tiem, anxious to avenge himself upon the man who had done such harm to his financing operations in the sale of indulgences. From the University of Prag came Stephen Palecz, who had formerly been a friend of Hus; but, alarmed at Hus's action against the preaching of indulgences, had changed sides, and afterwards showed all a renegade's bitterness against his former leader. Hus complains that the Bohemians were his bitterest foes; they gave their own account of what had happened in Bohemia, brought Hus's writings to Constance and interpreted his Bohemian works, as they alone knew the language. Through the activity of these powerful opponents Hus's cause was judged beforehand, and the only question which the Council had before it was the method of his condemnation.

Opinions at the Council about Hus.

It is difficult to see where Hus expected to find partisans in the Council. The Pope and the Cardinals had already declared themselves against him. England had abandoned Wyclif, and was not likely to raise its voice in favour of Hus. France in its distracted condition brought its political animosities to the Council, and was not likely to lend help to one whose principles were subversive of political order. Already the ecclesiastical reformers of the University of Paris had taken steps to cut themselves off from all connexion with those of Prag. In May, 1414, Gerson wrote to Conrad, the new Archbishop of Prag, exhorting him to root out the Wyclifite errors. On September 24, he sent the Archbishop twenty articles taken from the writings of Hus, which the theological faculty of the University of Paris had condemned as erroneous. These articles mostly dealt with Hus's conception of the Church as the body of those predestinated to salvation, and the consequent inference that the commands of those predestinated to damnation were not binding on the faithful. Gerson was horrified at such a theory of the Church; he regarded it as subversive of all law and order. He and the

conservative reformers of Paris were willing to reform the existing abuses in the ecclesiastical system, and for that purpose admitted a power residing in the whole body of the Church which was superior on emergencies to that of its ordinary ruler; but they shrank from a new conception of the Church which would allow the private judgment of the predestinated to override all authority. Gerson regarded Hus as a dangerous revolutionist; he wrote to the Archbishop on September 24, 'The most dangerous error, destructive of all political order and quiet, is this—that one predestined to damnation or living in mortal sin, has no rule, jurisdiction, or power over others in a Christian people. Against such an error it seems to my humility that all power, spiritual and temporal, ought to rise and exterminate it by fire and sword rather than by curious reasoning. For political power is not founded on the title of predestination or grace, since that would be most uncertain, but is established according to laws ecclesiastical and civil.'[1] The antagonism between the two schools of thought was profound. Hus, in his desire to deepen the consciousness of spiritual life, and bind together the faithful by an invisible bond of union with Christianity, was willing to sacrifice all outward organisation. Gerson regarded the Church as a religious polity whose laws and constitution needed reform; but the most fatal enemy to that reform was the spirit of revolution which threatened the whole fabric with destruction. As a statesman and as a logician Gerson regarded Hus's views as extremely dangerous. Hus, stirred only by his desire for greater holiness in the Church, believed that he could move the Council as he moved his congregation of Bethlehem. He wished only for an opportunity of setting forth his opinions before assembled Christendom, and thought that their manifest truth could not fail to carry conviction. There was a child-like simplicity about his character, and an ignorance of the

[1] Palacky, *Documenta*, 528.

world which some writers of modern times have mistaken for vanity.

Hus imprisoned. Nov. 28.

Feeling that the Council was entirely on their side, the enemies of Hus were anxious to proceed against him before Sigismund's arrival. John XXIII. on his part was equally willing that the Council should find some occupation for its activity. The first step was to seize the person of Hus. Ungrounded rumours were spread that he had made an attempt to leave the city in a hay cart;[1] it was urged that he said mass every day in his own house, and that many went to visit him and hear his false doctrines. Accordingly, on November 28, the Bishops of Augsburg and Trent, together with the burgomaster of Constance, came to Hus's house while he was at dinner with John of Chlum, and informed him that the Pope and the Cardinals were ready to hear him. John of Chlum angrily answered that Hus had come at Sigismund's request to speak before the Council; it was Sigismund's will that he should not speak before his arrival. The Bishop of Trent answered that they had come on an errand of peace. On this Hus rose from the table and said that he had not come to Constance to confer with the Cardinals but to speak before the Council; nevertheless he was willing to go and answer anywhere for the truth. He bade adieu to his weeping landlady, who had seen the armed men with whom these messengers of peace had surrounded her house, and as Hus mounted his horse she begged his blessing, as from one who never would return.

Hus before the Pope and Cardinals. Nov. 28.

When Hus appeared, at twelve o'clock, before the Cardinals in the Pope's palace, he was told that there were many grievous charges against him of sowing errors in Bohemia. He answered, 'Most reverend fathers, know that I would rather die than hold a

[1] This story, given by Reichenthal, has been often repeated, but the account of Mladenowic (in *Doc.*, 247) clearly contradicts it. Reichenthal has confused Hus with Jerome of Prag. If Hus had attempted to escape, the fact would have been urged against him in the proceedings of the Council. See Palacky, *Gesch. Böhm.*, III., i., 322 *n*.

single error. I came of my own accord to this Council, and if it be proved that I have erred in anything I am willing humbly to be corrected and amend.' The Cardinals said that his words were fair, and then rose, leaving Hus and John of Chlum under the guard of the soldiers who had escorted them there. A subtle theologian, in the guise of a simple friar in quest for truth, came meanwhile to talk with Hus on the doctrine of the Eucharist and the two natures of Christ. Hus, however, discovered him, and guarded against his desire for religious confidences.

At four o'clock the Cardinals again assembled to consider Hus's case. The articles prepared by Michael de Causis were laid before them. They accused Hus (1) of teaching the necessity of receiving the Eucharist under both kinds and of attacking transubstantiation; (2) of making the validity of the sacraments depend on the moral character of the priest; (3) of erroneous doctrine concerning the nature of the Church, its possessions, its discipline, and its organisation. Hus's opponents were there, and urged the necessity for putting him in prison; if he were to escape from Constance he would boast that he had been tried and acquitted, and would do more harm than any heretic since the times of Constantine the Great.[1] It was evening when the master of the Pope's household came to announce to John of Chlum that he was free to depart if he chose, but Hus must remain in the palace. The fiery Bohemian forced his way into the Pope's chamber. 'Holy Father,' he exclaimed, 'this is not what you promised. I told you that Master Hus came here under the safe-conduct of my master the King of the Romans; and you answered that if he had killed your brother he should be safe. I wish to raise my voice and warn those who have violated my master's safe-conduct.' The Pope called the Cardinals to witness that he had never sent to take Hus prisoner. He afterwards called John of Chlum aside, and said to him: 'You know how matters

[1] Articles of Michael de Causis, Palacky, *Documenta*, 199.

stand between me and the Cardinals; they have brought me Hus as a prisoner, and I am bound to receive him'. John XXIII. cared little about his promise, or about Hus; he frankly admitted that he was thinking only how to save himself. Hus was led to the house of one of the Canons of Constance, where he was guarded for eight days. On December 6 he was taken to the Convent of the Dominicans, on a small island close to the shore of the lake. There he was cast into a dark and narrow dungeon, damp with the waters of the lake, and close to the mouth of a sewer. In this noisome spot he was attacked by fever, so that his life was despaired of, and John sent his own physicians to attend him.

Anger of Sigismund at the violation of his safe-conduct.

The anger of John of Chlum at the imprisonment of Hus gave a sample of the spirit which afterwards animated the whole Bohemian nation. He did not cease to complain in Constance of the Pope and Cardinals; he showed Sigismund's safe-conduct to all whom he met; he even fixed on the doors of the cathedral a solemn protest against the Papal perfidy. Sigismund himself was equally indignant at the dishonour done to his promise; he requested that Hus be immediately released from prison, otherwise he would come and break down the doors himself. But the enemies of Hus were more powerful than the remonstrances of Sigismund. Perhaps John XXIII. was not sorry to find a subject about which he might try to create a quarrel between Sigismund and the Council. Proceedings against Hus were begun; on December 4 the Pope appointed a commission of three, headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, to receive testimonies against Hus. Hus asked in vain for an advocate to take exception to the witnesses, of whom many were his personal foes. He was answered that it was contrary to law for any one to defend a suspected heretic.

When Sigismund arrived in Constance on December 25, the first question that engaged his attention was that of Hus's imprisonment. He demanded of the Pope that Hus

should be released. John XXIII. gave him the same answer as he had given to John of Chlum; he referred him to the Cardinals and the Council, whose work it was. Discussion went on sharply for some time.[1] Sigismund urged that he was bound to see his safe-conduct respected; the fathers of the Council answered that they were bound to judge according to the law one suspected of heresy. When Sigismund urged the indignation which was rising in Bohemia at Hus's imprisonment, he was answered that there would be serious danger to all authority, ecclesiastical and civil, if Hus were to escape to Bohemia and again commence his mischievous preaching. Sigismund threatened to leave Constance if Hus were not released; the Council answered that it also must dissolve itself if he wished to hinder it in the performance of its duty.[2]

Arguments in favour of disregarding the safe-conduct of Hus.

We are so far removed from a state of opinion in which a king could be urged to break his word, on the ground that it was only plighted to a heretic, that it is difficult for us to appreciate the arguments by which such conduct could be justified. The Council maintained that one of its chief objects was to put down heresy. Hus was certainly a heretic, and must be tried as such; he was now in their power, and if he were to escape the evil would be greatly increased. It was not their business to consider how he had put himself in their power. The existence of the Council was independent of Sigismund's help, and it must not allow its independence to be fettered at the outset by Sigismund's interference. Moreover, the terrible conception of heresy in the Middle Ages put the heretic outside the limits of a king's protection.[3]

[1] The letter of the envoys of the University of Köln, dated January 17, 1415, says: 'Hodie est occasio non modicæ perturbationis propter salvum conductum sibi (i.e., Hus) præstitum'. Martene, *Thesaur.*, ii., 1611. This is opposed to Von der Hardt, iv., 26, who makes Sigismund withdraw his safe-conduct on January 1.

[2] Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, iii., 1, 329, from a letter of Sigismund to the Bohemian estates, written from Paris, March 21, 1416.

[3] Schwab, *Johannes Gerson*, 582-3, has collected a number of passages bearing on this point.

He was a plague-spot in the body of a State, and must be cut out at once, lest the contagion spread. Heresy in a land was a blot on the national honour, which kings were bound to preserve intact; the heretic was a traitor against God, much more a traitor against his own sovereign. It was the clear duty of all in authority to protect themselves and the community against the risks which the spread of heresy inevitably brought. Nor could a promise of safe-conduct rashly made override the higher duties of a king. No promise was binding if its observance proved to be prejudicial to the Catholic faith.[1] Rash and wicked promises are not binding, and the goodness of a promise must in some cases be judged by its result. 'Call to mind,' urged the Bishop of Arras, 'the oath of Herod, which the result proved to be an evil one; so in the case of a heretic with a safe-conduct, his obstinacy makes it necessary that the decree be changed; for that promise is impious which is fulfilled by a crime.'[2] Such is a sample of the reasons which led the wisest and best men of Christendom to urge Sigismund to a shameless breach of faith. Their arguments were enforced by Sigismund's fear lest the Council dissolve if he refused to listen, and so all the glory which he hoped to gain be lost to himself, and all the benefits of a reunion of Christendom be lost to mankind. King Ferdinand of Aragon wrote to Sigismund, expressing his surprise at any hesitation about punishing Hus. It was impossible, he said, to break faith with one who had already broken faith with God.[3] This letter must have produced a great impres-

[1] 'Cum dictus Johannes Hus fidem orthodoxam pertinaciter impugnans, se ab omni conductu et privilegio reddiderit alienum, nec aliqua sibi fides aut promissio de jure naturali, divino vel humano, fuerit in præjudicium catholicæ fidei observanda.'—*Declaration of the Council*, Von der Hardt, iv., 521.

[2] Gerson, *Op.*, v., 572: 'Resolve in animo tuo juramentum Herodis et comperies quod in malis promissis fides est rescindenda non solum a principio sed etiam ab eventu, sicut de hæretico, cui etiam datur salvus conductus, ob cujus pertinaciam mutandum est decretum; impia est enim promissio quæ scelere adimpletur'.

[3] See *Andreæ Ratisbonensis Chronicon.* Eccard, i., 2146.

sion on Sigismund; if the Council were to succeed, Aragon must be brought to acknowledge its authority, and no pretext must be given which might cover a refusal. Overborne by these considerations, Sigismund abandoned Hus to his fate.

We cannot resist a feeling of moral indignation at such sentiments and at such conduct. It is true that freedom of opinion has been established among us at the present day by the teaching of experience: we have learned that duty has an existence amongst men independent of the law of the Church. Such a conception did not exist in the Middle Ages. The belief that rightness of conduct depended on rightness of religious opinion was universal, and the spirit of persecution was but the logical expression of this belief. Yet, as a matter of fact, the spirit of persecution solely for matters of opinion had largely died away, and only existed where political or personal interests were involved in its maintenance. The treatment of Wyclif in England was an example which the Council might well have followed. It preferred to fall back upon the procedure of the Inquisition. It revived persecution for the purpose of showing its own orthodoxy under exceptional circumstances, and it won Sigismund's consent by the offer of political advantage in quieting his Bohemian kingdom. Hus was made a victim of the need felt by a revolutionary party for some opportunity of defining the limits of its revolutionary zeal.

The question of the abdication of John XXIII. threw the cause of Hus for a time into the background. John's flight on March 20 put the responsibility of Hus's imprisonment in the hands of Sigismund and the Council. For a moment the friends of Hus hoped that Sigismund would use this opportunity and set Hus at liberty. He might have done so with safety, for the Council was now too far dependent upon him to take much umbrage at his doings. But Sigismund had entirely identified himself with the Council, and had no further qualms of conscience about his treatment of Hus; he is even said to

Condemnation of the writings of Wyclif. May 4, 1415.

have taken credit to himself for his firmness of purpose. There were great fears that the friends of Hus might attempt a rescue;[1] so on March 24 Sigismund handed over the custody of Hus to the Bishop of Constance, who removed him by night, under a strong escort, to the Castle of Gottlieben, two miles above Constance, on the Rhine, where he was kept in chains. On April 6 a new commission, at the head of which were the Cardinals of Cambrai and St. Mark, was appointed to examine the heresies of Wyclif and Hus. As the Council was anxious to have this matter ready to hand when it had finished its conflict with John XXIII., it again transferred, on April 17, the examination of Hus to another commission, whose members had more leisure than the Cardinals. No time was lost in inaugurating the Council's activity against heresy. In the eighth session, on May 4, Wyclif was condemned as the leader and chief of the heretics of the time. The forty-five articles taken from Wyclif's writings were condemned as heretical; two hundred and six others, which had been drawn up by the ingenuity of the University of Oxford, were declared heretical, erroneous, or scandalous; the writings of Wyclif were ordered to be burnt; his memory was condemned, and it was decreed that his bones be exhumed and cast out of consecrated ground.

Protest of Hus's friends. May 16-31, 1415.

The friends of Hus saw that if they hoped to save him they must act promptly. On May 16 a petition was presented to the Council, signed by Wenzel of Duba, John of Chlum, Henry of Latzenborck, and other Bohemian nobles in Constance, praying for Hus's release from prison, on the ground that he had come voluntarily with a safe-conduct to plead on behalf of his opinions, and had been thrown into prison unheard, in violation of the safe-conduct, though heretics condemned by the Council of Pisa were allowed to come and go freely. There were replies and counter-replies, which only embittered

[1] Letter in Palacky, *Gesch. von Böhmen*, iii., 1, 339: 'De Hus fuit periculum ne eriperetur de carceribus ordinis Prædicatorum situatis ultra muros civitatis, quia custodes jam erant pauci et remissi'.

the enemies of Hus. At last, on May 10, an answer was given by the Patriarch of Antioch, on behalf of the Council, that they would in no case release from prison a man who was not to be trusted, but that, in answer to the request for a public audience, the Council would hear him on June 5.

If Hus's cause had been prejudged by the Council when he was put in prison, everything that had happened since then had only strengthened the conviction that Hus and his opinions were most dangerous to the peace of the Church. The news from Bohemia told that the revolt against ecclesiastical authority was rapidly spreading. After the departure of Hus the chief place amongst his followers was taken by one Jakubek of Mies, who attacked the custom of the Church by preaching the necessity of the reception of the Eucharist under both kinds. The question had previously been raised by Mathias of Janow, but in obedience to the Archbishop of Prag had been laid aside. Jakubek, not content with holding a disputation before the University in defence of his views, proceeded to administer the Communion under both kinds in several churches in Prag, heedless of the Archbishop's excommunication. There was some difference of opinion on this question amongst Hus's followers in Bohemia, and the opinion of Hus was requested.[1] Hus gave his opinion in favour of Jakubek, on the ground that the Communion under both kinds was more in accordance with the teaching of S. Paul and the custom of the primitive Church; but it is evident from his way of speaking that he did not consider the question as one of vital importance. However, a letter of his to Jakubek, and Jakubek's answer, which was expressed in imprudent language, fell into the hands of the spies of Michael de Causis, and were used to prove still more clearly the dangerous character of Hus.[2]

Administration of the Communion under both kinds in Bohemia.

[1] Letter of John of Chlum (Palacky, *Documenta*, 86): 'Quia fratrum adhuc aliqualis est scissio, et propter illud multi turbantur, ad vos et arbitrium vestrum juxta scripta quædam se referentes'.

[2] Letter of Hus to Peter Mladenowic. *Documenta*, 87.

Moreover, the friends of Hus showed a zeal in his behalf which the Council regarded as unseemly, if not suspicious. Hus wrote to warn them to curb their desire to come and visit him. One of them, Christian of Prachatic, was imprisoned on the accusation of Michael de Causis, and was only released on Sigismund's intervention, who had a special care for him as a learned astronomer. Hus's warnings, however, did not prevent his fiery scholar, Jerome of Prag, from venturing secretly to Constance. Jerome was the knight-errant of the Hussite movement, whose restless activity spread its influence far and wide. Sprung from a noble family, he represented the alliance between Hus and the Bohemian aristocracy. He studied at Heidelberg, Köln, Paris, and Oxford, and wandered over Europe in quest of adventures. He had been imprisoned as a heretic at Pesth and at Vienna, and had only escaped through the intervention of his noble friends and of the University of Prag. He had dreamed of a reconciliation between the Bohemian reformers and the Greek Church. Violent and impetuous in all things, he hastened to Constance, where he kept himself hid, and on April 7 posted on the church doors a request for a safe-conduct, saying that he was willing to appear before the Council and answer for his opinions. On April 17 the Council cited him to appear within fifteen days, giving him a safe-conduct against violence, but announcing the intention of proceeding legally against him. Jerome already repented of his rashness; he judged it wiser to return to Prag, but was recognised when close on the Bohemian frontier, at Hirschau, was made prisoner and was sent back to Constance, where he arrived on May 23. He was led in chains by his captor to the Franciscan monastery, where a general congregation of the Council was sitting. Jerome was asked why he had not appeared in answer to the citation, and answered that he had not received it in time to do so; he had waited for some time, but had turned his face homewards in despair before it was issued. Angry cries arose on every side, for Jerome's

Capture of Jerome of Prag. May 23, 1415.

keen tongue and fiery temper had raised him enemies wherever he had gone. Academic hatred blazed up; the hostility of the Nominalists against the Realistic philosophy was proved to be no inconsiderable element in the opposition to the tenets of Wyclif and Hus. Gerson exclaimed, 'When you were at Paris, you disturbed the University with false positions, especially in the matter of universals and ideas and other scandalous doctrines'. A doctor from Heidelberg cried out, 'When you were at Heidelberg you painted up a shield comparing the Trinity to water, snow, and ice'. He alluded to a diagram which Jerome had drawn out to illustrate his philosophic views, in which water, snow, and ice, as three forms of one substance, were paralleled with the three Persons co-existing in the Trinity. Jerome demanded that his opinions be proved erroneous; if so, he was willing humbly to recall them. There were loud cries, 'Burn him, burn him'. 'If you wish my death,' he exclaimed, 'so be it in God's name.' 'Nay,' said the chivalrous Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, 'Nay, Jerome; for it is written, "I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live".' In the midst of general confusion Jerome was hurried off to prison in the tower of S. Paul's Church—a dark and narrow dungeon where he could not see to read, and was treated with the utmost rigour.

The hopes of Hus and his friends fell lower and lower, as the months of his imprisonment went on. The Commissioners of the Council plied Hus with questions and framed their indictment against him. Hus laboured hard to prepare his defence, and still found time to write little tractates for the use of his friends and even of his guards. His own desire was that he might have the opportunity of defending his opinions openly. So entirely were they the expression of his whole moral nature, that he could not imagine it possible for any one to consider that the frank expression of such opinions was really culpable.

Different positions of Hus and of the Council.

But the Council saw no reason for listening to Hus's

explanations. In their mind his guilt was clear; his writings contained opinions contrary to the system of the Church; he had openly acted in defiance of ecclesiastical authority, and had taught others to do the same. It was useless to give such an one another opportunity of raising his voice. The Council that had just been victorious over a Pope thought it beneath its dignity to waste time over a heretic. The very fact of the overthrow of John XXIII. made the condemnation of Hus more necessary. If the Council had been compelled by the emergency to overstep the bounds of precedent in its dealings with the Pope, Hus afforded it an opportunity of showing Christendom how clearly it distinguished between reform and revolution; how its anxiety to amend the evils of the Church did not lead it to deviate from the old ecclesiastical traditions. The real state of affairs was accurately expressed in the advice given to Hus by a friend who was a man of the world, 'If the Council were to assert that you have only one eye, though you have two, you ought to agree with the Council's opinion'. Hus answered, 'If the whole world were to tell me so, I could not, so long as I have the reason that I now enjoy, agree without doing violence to my conscience'.[1] Hus had the spirit of a martyr, because he had the singleness of character which made life impossible if purchased by the overthrow of his moral and intellectual sincerity.

First audience of Hus, June 5, 1415.

So when, on June 5, the Fathers of the Council assembled in the refectory of the Franciscan Convent, they came to condemn Hus, not to hear him. Before Hus was brought in, the report of the Commissioners appointed to examine his case was read. A Bohemian, looking over the reader's shoulder, saw that it ended in a condemnation of various articles taken from Hus's writings. When John of Chlum and Wenzel of Duba heard this they went to Sigismund, who was not present at the

[1] From a letter of Hus in Palacky, *Documenta*, 102.

congregation, and besought him to interfere. Sigismund was moved to send Frederick of Nürnberg and the Pfalzgraf Lewis to request the Council not to condemn Hus unheard, but to give a careful hearing to his defence. The friends of Hus objected that the articles against Hus were taken from garbled copies of his writings, and they laid before the Council Hus's original manuscript of the 'De Ecclesia' and other works on condition that they should be safely returned.

After these preliminaries, Hus was brought in. He admitted that the manuscripts which he was shown were his; he added that if they were proved to contain any errors, he was ready to amend them. The first article of his accusation was then read, and Hus began to answer it. He had not proceeded far before he was stopped by cries on all sides. It was not the Council's notion of a defence that the accused should discuss the standard of orthodoxy, or bring forward quotations from the Fathers in proof of each of his opinions. To them the rule of faith was the Church, and the Church was represented by the Council. It was for them to say what opinions were heretical or erroneous. The only question in Hus's case was whether or no he owned the opinions of which he was accused. 'Have done with your sophistries,' was the cry, 'and answer yes or no.' When he quoted from the writings of the early Fathers, he was told that was not to the point: when he was silent, his foes exclaimed, 'Your silence shows assent to these errors'. The more sober members decided the Council to defer for two days the further hearing of Hus.

Second audience of Hus, June 7, 1415.

At the second audience, June 7, Sigismund was present, and there was greater order, owing to a proclamation, in the name of the King and the Council, that any one crying out in a disorderly way would be removed. The first point on which Hus was accused was his view of the Sacrament of the Altar, about which Hus denied, as he always had done, that he shared Wyclif's views. Peter d'Ailly, who was president at the

session, tried to discuss the question on philosophical grounds, and to prove that Hus, as a realist who believed in universals, could not accept the true doctrine on the subject. The English, who had been experienced in this question since Wyclif's days, took a great share in the discussion. At last one of them brought it to an end by declaring that these philosophical points had nothing to do with the matter: he declared himself satisfied with the soundness of Hus's opinion on this point. There was some warmth in the discussion, and many spoke at once, till Hus exclaimed, 'I expected to find in the Council more piety, reverence, and order'. This exclamation produced silence, for it was a quiet appeal to the mandate against interruption: but D'Ailly resented the remark, and said, 'When you were in your prison, you spoke more modestly'. 'Yes,' retorted Hus, 'for there at least I was not disturbed.'[1]

The discussion then passed into an attempt to discover what was the nature of the evidence by which a man's opinions were to be determined. Cardinal Zabarella remarked to Hus that, according to Scripture, 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established': as on most points there were at least twenty witnesses who deposed against Hus, it was difficult to see what he could gain by denying the charges. Hus answered, 'If God and my conscience witness for me that I never taught what I am accused of teaching, the testimony of my opponents hurts me not'. To this Cardinal d'Ailly observed with truth, 'We cannot judge according to your conscience, but according to the testimony laid before us'. Here, in fact, lay the inevitable difference in point of view that made the

[1] I assign this incident to Hus's second audience, though most writers, following Von der Hardt, iv., 307, put it down to the first. Von der Hardt quotes a letter of Hus, dated June 27, in which he is making a general complaint against the Council; but a letter which Palacky dates June 7 (*Documenta*, 108), and which clearly refers to the second audience, because it mentions the presence of Sigismund, narrates this event as occurring then. Mladenowic, in his *Relatio* (*Doc.*, 282), records the reproof of D'Ailly, but not the exclamation of Hus.

trial of Hus seem, in his own eyes, to be a mere mockery of justice.

The discussion wandered on aimlessly. Hus was accused of defending Wyclif and his doctrines, of causing disturbances in the University of Prag and in the kingdom of Bohemia. Cardinal d'Ailly quoted, in support of the charge of sedition, a remark by Hus when he was first brought before the Cardinals, that he had come to Constance of his own free will, and if he had not wished to do so, neither the King of Bohemia nor the King of the Romans could have compelled him. Hus answered, 'Yes, there are many lords in Bohemia who love me, in whose castles I could have been hid, so that neither King could have compelled me'. D'Ailly cried out on such audacity; but John of Chlum rose and said sturdily, 'What he speaks is true. I am but a poor knight in our kingdom, yet I would willingly keep him for a year, whomsoever it pleased or displeased, so that no one could take him. There are many great lords who love him and would keep him in their castles as long as they chose, even against both Kings together.'

John's remark was noble and brave and true, but it was not politic. The King of the Romans, the disposer of Christendom, the idol of the Council, sat by with wrath and heard the bitter truth about his mightiness, and was publicly braved for the sake of an obscure heretic. President d'Ailly saw an opportunity for closing triumphantly this unprofitable wrangle. Turning to Hus, he said, 'You declared in prison that you were willing to submit to the judgment of the Council: I advise you to do so, and the Council will deal mercifully with you'. Sigismund, smarting under the affront of John of Chlum, publicly abandoned Hus. He told him that he had given him a safe-conduct for the purpose of procuring him a hearing before the Council. He had now been heard: there was nothing to be done but submit to the Council, which, for the sake of Wenzel and himself, would deal mercifully with him. 'If, however,' he continued, 'you persist in your

Attitude of Sigismund.

errors, it is for the Council to determine what it will do. I have said that I will not defend a heretic; nay, if any one remained obstinate in heresy, I would, with my own hands, burn him. I advise you to submit entirely to the Council's grace, and the sooner the better, lest you be involved in deeper error.' Hus thanked Sigismund—it must have been ironically—for his safe-conduct, repeated his vague statement that he was willing to abandon any errors about which he was better informed, and was conducted back to his prison.

Third audience of Hus. June 8, 1415.

The audience was continued next day, June 8, when thirty-nine articles against Hus were laid before the Council: twenty-six of them were taken from the treatise 'De Ecclesia,' the remainder from his controversial writings. Hus's manuscript was before the Council, and each article was compared with the passages on which it was founded: D'Ailly observed on several articles that they were milder than Hus's words justified. The articles chiefly turned on Hus's conception of the Church as the body of the predestinated, and the consequent dependence of ecclesiastical power on the worthiness of him who exercised it. Hus objected to several of the articles, that they did not properly express his meaning, were taken out of connexion with the context, and paid no attention to the limitations which had accompanied his statements. To the article that 'a wicked pope or prelate is not truly a pastor,' Hus put in a limitation that he meant they were not priests so far as their merits went, but he admitted that they were priests so far as their office was concerned. To back up this fine distinction, he urged the case of John XXIII., and asked whether he were really a pope, or really a robber. The Cardinals looked at one another and smiled, but answered, 'Oh, he was a true pope'. The whole proceeding was wearisome and profitless, for the Council had no doubt that Hus's teaching as a whole was opposed to all order, and they had in their favour the practical argument of the Bohemian disturb-

ances. It was useless for Hus to palliate each separate article and urge that there was a sense in which it might have an orthodox meaning.

In spite of his attempts to be cautious, Hus occasionally betrayed the revolutionary nature of his views if pushed to the extreme. When the article was read, 'If a pope, bishop, or prelate be in mortal sin, he is not a true pope, bishop, or prelate,' Hus urged the words of Samuel to Saul, 'Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath rejected thee from being king'. Sigismund at the time was talking in a window with Frederick of Nürnberg and the Pfalzgraf Lewis; there was a cry, 'Call the King, for this affects him'. When Sigismund had returned to his place, Hus was asked to repeat his remark. Sigismund with truth and pertinence remarked, 'Hus, no one is without sin'. Peter d'Ailly was resolved not to let slip the opportunity of showing the danger attending Hus's opinions if they were extended to political as well as religious matters. 'It was not enough for you,' he exclaimed, 'by your writings and teaching to throw down the spiritual power; you wish also to oust kings from their places.'

At length the reading of the articles and their attestation was ended. D'Ailly, as president, addressed Hus: 'There are two ways open for your choice. Either submit yourself entirely to the mercy of the Council, which, for the sake of the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia, will deal kindly with you; or, if you wish further to maintain your opinions, an opportunity will be given you. Know, however, that there are here many learned men, who have such strong reasons against your articles that I fear if you attempt to defend them further you will be involved in graver errors. I speak as an adviser, not as a judge.' There were cries on all sides urging Hus to submit. He answered, 'I came here freely, not to defend anything obstinately, but to submit to better information if I was wrong. I crave another audience to explain my meaning, and if my arguments do not prevail, I am willing to sub-

mit humbly to the information of the Council.' His words awakened the anger of many. 'The Council is not here to inform, but to judge; he is equivocating,' was cried out on all sides. Hus amended his words: he was willing to submit to their correction and decision. On this D'Ailly at once rose, and said that sixty doctors had unanimously decided on the steps which Hus must take: 'He must humbly recognise his errors, abjure and revoke the articles against him, promise never to teach them again, but henceforth to preach and teach the opposite'. Hus answered that he could not lie and abjure doctrines which he had never held, as was the case with some of the articles brought against him. Hereon a verbal dispute arose about the meaning of abjuration, which Sigismund tried to settle by the remark that he was ready to abjure all errors, but this did not imply that he had previously held them. Cardinal Zabarella at last told Hus that a written form of abjuration would be submitted to him, and he could make up his mind at leisure. Hus demanded another chance of explaining his doctrines; but Sigismund warned him that two courses only were open—either he must abjure and submit to the Council's mercy, or the Council would proceed to assert its rights. A desultory conversation followed. At last Palecz, moved in some way by the solemnity of the occasion, rose and protested that in promoting the cause against Hus he had been actuated by no personal motive, but solely by zeal for the truth. Michael de Causis said the same. Hus answered, 'I stand before the judgment-seat of God, who will judge both you and me after our deserts'. He was then taken back to his prison.

Incautious confidences of Sigismund.

The laymen quickly left the Council chamber, and Sigismund remained talking in the window with some of the chief prelates. The Bohemians, John of Chlum, Wenzel of Duba, and Peter Mladenowic, remained sadly behind the rest, and so heard Sigismund's conversation. With indignation and dismay they heard him urge on the Fathers Hus's condemna-

tion. There was more than enough evidence, he said; if Hus would not abjure, let him be burned. Even if he did abjure, it would be well to inhibit him from preaching again, as he could not be trusted; they must make an end of the matter, and root out all Hus's followers, beginning with Jerome, whom they had in their hands. 'It was only in my boyhood,' ended Sigismund, 'that this sect arose in Bohemia, and see how it has grown and multiplied.' The prelates agreed with the King's opinion, and Sigismund retired satisfied with his acuteness in turning things to his own advantage. He thought that vigorous measures on the part of the Council would overawe the turbulent spirits in Bohemia, and would spare him much trouble when the time came that he inherited the Bohemian crown. The unguarded words that he spoke lost him his Bohemian kingdom for ever. Sigismund might have been forgiven for refusing to come into collision with the rights of the Council by insisting on the observance of his safe-conduct; he could never be forgiven for joining the ranks of Hus's foes and hounding on the Council to condemn him. As King of the Romans he might have duties which brought him into conflict with the wishes of the Bohemians; he was discovered secretly using his influence against them, and striving to crush what the Bohemians longed to assert. The insult to the nation, of inciting the Council to root out errors from Bohemia, was deeply felt and bitterly resented. The people steeled their hearts to assert that they would not have this man to rule over them.[1]

Attempt to induce Hus to retract.

An attempt was made to bring Hus to retract. Some member of the Council,[2] whom Hus knew and respected, was chosen to submit to him a formula of retractation, setting forth, 'though many things are laid to my charge which I never thought, yet I submit myself concerning all such points, either drawn from my

[1] Peter Mladenowic, *Relatio*, in Palacky, *Documenta*, 314.

[2] We do not know who this was; he is merely addressed by Hus 'Reverende Pater'. Palacky, *Doc.*, 121.

books or from the depositions of witnesses, to the order, definition, and correction of the Holy Council'. Hus answered that he could not condemn many truths which seemed to the Council scandalous; he could not perjure himself by renouncing errors which he did not hold, and so scandalising Christian people who had heard him preach the contrary. 'I stand,' he ended, 'at the judgment-seat of Christ, to whom I have appealed, knowing that He will judge every man, not according to false or erroneous witness, but according to the truth and each one's deserts.' There was no longer any attempt at special pleading. Hus asserted against authority the rights of the individual conscience, and removed his cause from the tribunal of man to the judgment-seat of God. A new spirit had arisen in Christendom when a man felt that his life and character had been so definitely built up round opinions which the Church condemned, that it was easier for him to die than to resign the truths which made him what he was.

Decree against the administration of the Communion under both kinds. June 15, 1415.

There was but one course open to the Council, yet it hesitated to proceed to the condemnation of Hus. On June 15 it turned its attention again to the innovations introduced into Bohemia by Jakubek of Mies, in the administration of the Eucharist. It issued a decree declaring the administration under both kinds to be heretical, because opposed to the custom and ordinance of the Church, which had been made to prevent irregularities. Hus, in his letters to his friends, did not scruple to call this decree mere madness, in that it set the custom of the Roman Church against the plain words of Christ and of S. Paul.[1] He wrote also to Havlik,[2] who had taken his place as preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel,

[1] 'O quanta dementia evangelium Christi, epistolam Pauli, . . . et factum Christi . . . condemnare! . . . O Sancte Paule! tu dicis omnibus fidelibus "Quotienscunque manducabitis panem hunc et calicem bibetis, mortem domini annuntiabitis, donec veniat": hoc est usque diem judicii in quo veniet; ut ecce, jam dicitur, quod consuetudo Romanæ ecclesiæ est in oppositum.'—Palacky, *Doc.*, 126.

[2] Palacky, *Doc.*, 128, dated June 21.

exhorting him not to withstand Jakubek's teaching in this matter, and so cause a schism among the faithful by paying heed to this decree of the Council. Hus set himself more and more decidedly against the Council, and all efforts to induce him to submit were unavailing. Even Palecz, the friend of Hus's youth and now his bitterest foe, visited him in prison and besought him to abjure. 'What would you do,' said Hus, 'if you were charged with errors which you knew for certain that you never held? Would you abjure?' 'It is a hard matter,' answered Palecz, and burst into tears. It was characteristic of Hus that he asked to have Palecz as his confessor, for he was his chief adversary. Palecz shrank from the office, but paid his former friend another visit, and excused himself for the part that he had taken against him.

Hus bids adieu to his friends.

Hus resolutely prepared to die, and wrote to bid farewell to his various friends in Bohemia and at Constance. A tranquil yet determined spirit breathes through his letters; the charm of his personal character is seen in the tenderness and thoughtfulness of the messages which he sends.[1] Repeated deputations from the Council vainly endeavoured to prove to him the duty, the easiness of recantation. At last, on July 1, a formal answer in writing was returned by Hus to the Council. He said that, fearing to offend God, and fearing to commit perjury, he was unwilling to retract any of the articles brought against him. On July 5, at Sigismund's request, the Bohemian nobles, John of Chlum and Wenzel of Duba, accompanied the representatives of the Council on a last visit to Hus. John of Chlum manfully addressed him, and his words are a strong proof of the sturdy moral spirit which Hus had awakened in his followers: 'We are laymen and cannot advise you; consider, however, and if you feel that you

[1] Thus: 'D. Henricum Lefl utique petas quod Jacobo scriptori det unam sexagenam, quam sibi promisit'. Palac., *Doc.*, 120. 'Nobilis domine Wenceslæ, uxorem accipiendo, sancte vivatis in matrimonio, postpositis vanitatibus seculi.' *Id.*, 125. 'Petre, amice carissime, pellicium tibi serva in mei memoriam.' *Id.*, 147.

are guilty in any of the matters laid to your charge, have no shame in recanting. If, however, you do not feel yourself guilty, by no means act contrary to your conscience, and do not lie in the sight of God, but rather persevere unto death in the truth which you know.' Hus answered: 'If I knew that I had written or preached anything erroneous, contrary to the law and the Church, God is my witness that I would in all humility retract. But my wish always has been that better doctrine be proved to me out of Scripture, and then I would be most ready to recant.' One of the Bishops said indignantly, 'Will you be wiser than the whole Council?' Hus answered, 'Show me the least member of the Council who will inform me better out of the Scriptures, and I will forthwith retract'. 'He is obstinate in his heresy,' exclaimed the prelates, and Hus was led back to his prison.

Formal condemnation of Hus. July 6, 1415.

Next day, July 6, was a general session of the Council in the Cathedral, which Sigismund attended in royal state. During the celebration of mass Hus was kept standing in the porch with an armed escort. He was brought in to listen to a sermon on the sin of heresy from the Bishop of Lodi. He was stationed before a raised platform, on which was a stand containing all the articles of a priest's dress. During the sermon Hus knelt in prayer. When the sermon was over a proctor of the Council demanded sentence against Hus. A doctor mounted the pulpit and read a selection from the condemned articles of Wyclif and the conclusions of the process against Hus. More than once Hus tried to answer to the charges, but he was ordered to keep silence. He pleaded that he wished to clear himself of error in the eyes of those who stood by; afterwards they might deal with him as they chose. When he was forbidden to speak he again knelt in prayer. The number and rank, but not the names, of the witnesses to each charge, together with a summary of their testimony, was then read. Hus was aroused by hearing new charges brought against him—amongst others the monstrous assertion that he had declared himself to be the Fourth Person of the Trinity. He in-

dignantly asked the name of the one doctor who was quoted as witness, but was answered that there was no need of naming him now. When he was charged with despising the Papal excommunication and refusing to answer the Pope's summons, he again protested that he had desired nothing more than to prove his own innocence, and had for that purpose come to Constance of his own free will, trusting in the Imperial safe-conduct. As he said this he looked fixedly at Sigismund, who blushed through shame.

After this recital of his crimes, the sentence of the Council against Hus was read. First his writings, Latin and Bohemian, were condemned as heretical and ordered to be burnt. Hus asked how they could know that his Bohemian writings were heretical, seeing they had never read them. The sentence went on, that Hus himself as a pertinacious heretic be degraded from the priesthood. When the reading of the sentence was over, Hus prayed aloud: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, pardon all my enemies, for Thy great mercy's sake, I beseech Thee. Thou knowest that they have falsely accused me, brought forward false witnesses and forged false articles against me. Pardon them through Thy immense mercy.' The Archbishop of Milan, with six other Bishops, proceeded to the formal degradation of Hus. He was set on the platform in the middle of the cathedral, and was invested in the full priestly dress, with the chalice in his hand. Again he was exhorted to retract. He turned to the people, and, with tears streaming down his face, said, 'See how these Bishops expect me to abjure: yet I fear to do so, lest I be a liar in the sight of the Lord—lest I offend my conscience and the truth of God, since I never held these articles which witness falsely against me, but rather wrote and taught the opposite. I fear, too, to scandalise the multitude to which I preached.'

Hus degraded from the priesthood.

The Bishops then proceeded to his degradation. Each article of his priestly office was taken from him with solemn formality, and his tonsure was cut on four sides. Then it was pronounced, 'The Church

Death of Hus. July 6, 1415.

has taken from him all rights of the Church; and commits him to the secular arm'. The paper cap, painted over with fiends, was put on his head, with the words, 'We commit your soul to the devil'. Sigismund gave him to the charge of Lewis of Bavaria, who handed him to the civic officers for execution. As the procession passed out of the church Hus saw his books being burned in the churchyard. He was led out of the town into a suburb called Brüel, where in a meadow the stake had been prepared. To the last he asserted to the bystanders that he had never taught the things laid to his charge. When he was bound to the stake and Lewis of Bavaria again begged him to recant, Hus answered that the charges against him were false: 'I am prepared to die in that truth of the Gospel which I taught and wrote'. As the pile was kindled Hus began to sing from the Liturgy:—

> O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon us;
> O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy upon me;
> Thou who wast born of the Virgin Mary—

The wind swept the flames upward into his face, and he remained speechless. His lips were seen to move for a few minutes and then his spirit passed away. The attendants took great care that his body was all reduced to ashes. His clothes, which, according to custom, belonged to the executioner, were bought from him by Lewis of Bavaria, and were also burned. The ashes were flung into the Rhine: it was determined that Bohemia should have no relics of her martyr.

Hus died protesting against the unfairness of his trial.

Fairness of Hus's trial.

It is indeed impossible that a trial for opinions should ever be considered fair by the accused. He is charged with subverting the existing system of thought; he answers that some modification of the existing system is necessary, and that his opinions, if rightly understood, are not subversive, but amending. Into this issue his judges cannot follow him. It is as though a man accused of high treason were to urge that his treason is

the noblest patriotism. There may be truth in his allegation, but it is a truth which human justice cannot take into account. The judge is appointed to execute existing laws, and till those laws are altered by the properly constituted authority, the best attempts to amend them by individual protest must be reckoned as rebellion. No doubt Hus's Bohemian foes did their best to ruin him; but his opinions were judged by the Council to be subversive of the ecclesiastical system, and when he refused to submit to that decision, he was necessarily regarded as an obstinate heretic. It is useless to criticise particular points in his trial. The Council was anxious for his submission and gave him every opportunity to make it. But it is the glory of Hus that he first deliberately asserted the rights of the individual conscience against ecclesiastical authority, and sealed his assertion by his own life-blood.[1]

The Council still had Jerome in their hands, but they were in no haste to proceed against him. The news of the death of Hus kindled in Bohemia the bitterest wrath. It was a national insult, and branded Bohemia in the eyes of Christendom as the home of heresy. The clergy and monks were regarded with hatred as the causes of Hus's persecution. In Prag there was a riot, in which the clergy were severely handled; a crowd of Bohemians ravaged the lands of the Bishop of Leitomysl, who had been especially active in the prosecution of Hus. The Council thought it desirable to try and calm the irritation in Bohemia, and on July 23 sent a letter to the Bohemian clergy exhorting them to persevere in the extirpation of heresy. This letter only had the effect of sharpening the antagonism of the two parties in Bohemia. One party drew more closely to the side of the Council and of Catholic orthodoxy; the other more pronouncedly asserted the claims

Effects of the death of Hus on Bohemia. July 3—October 1, 1415.

[1] Lea, *History of the Mediæval Inquisition*, ii., has shown that the procedure in Hus's trial exactly followed the method adopted by the Inquisition. Hus came to argue before the Council; he was treated as a suspected heretic, and the Council resolved itself into a body of Inquisitors.

of Bohemia to settle its religious controversies without foreign interference. The Bishop of Leitomysl was sent by the Council to protect the interests of the Church; but so strong was the feeling against him in Bohemia that he felt it wise to stay indoors, and lived in fear of his personal safety.[1]

On September 2 a meeting was held at Prag of sixty-two Bohemian and Moravian nobles, who drew up an angry reply to the Council's letter. They asserted their respect for Hus and their belief in his innocence; they defended Bohemia from the charge of heresy; they branded as a liar and traitor any one who maintained such a charge for the future; they declared themselves determined to defend with their blood the law of Christ and its devout preachers in Bohemia. This letter received as many as 450 signatures. On September 5 the Hussite lords entered into a formal bond, or covenant, to uphold freedom of preaching in Bohemia, and defend against episcopal prohibition or excommunication all faithful preachers; the University of Prag was recognised as the arbiter in doctrinal matters. On October 1 a similar covenant was entered into by the Catholic nobles to uphold the Church, the Council, and the worship of their forefathers. Wenzel took no steps to prevent these threatenings of disturbance. He was angry at the execution of Hus, which he regarded as a slight upon himself and his kingdom. He was especially angry that it had been done under Sigismund's sanction; for he still regarded himself as King of the Romans, and was indignant at this intrusion of Sigismund into matters concerning the kingdom of Bohemia. Moreover, Queen Sophia grieved over the death of her confessor, whom she revered, and whose genuine piety she knew. Though Wenzel gave a verbal adhesion to the Catholic League, he was not thought to be in earnest.

The fathers of Constance had seen what little impression their severity produced on Hus; they learned that it produced equally little on his followers in Bohemia. Hence

[1] Niem, in Von der Hardt, ii., 425.

there was a general wish to win over Jerome if possible to the Council's side, or, at least, to spare the Council the odium of making another martyr. Every method was used to induce Jerome to retract; till, overcome by the pleadings of men whose character he could not but respect, he consented on September 10 to make his submission to the Council. He wrote to his Bohemian friends that, on examination of the articles against Hus, he found many of them heretical, and on comparing them with Hus's own manuscript writings he had been forced to own that the articles fairly represented Hus's words: he consequently felt bound to admit that Hus had been justly dealt with by the Council; though he wished to defend Hus's honour, he did not wish to be associated with his errors.[1] The Council was proud of its triumph, and caused Jerome to renew his retractation in a more formal manner in a public session on September 23. It also passed a decree against those who assailed Sigismund for violating his safe-conduct to Hus. The decree asserted that 'neither by natural, divine, nor human law was any promise to be observed to the prejudice of the Catholic faith'.

Recantation of Jerome of Prag. Sept. 10, 1415.

Jerome's recantation did not procure his freedom. He was taken back to prison, though his confinement was made much less rigid. The Commissioners who had examined him—Cardinals Zabarella, D'Ailly, Orsini and the Cardinal of Apulia—urged his release; but the Bohemian party dreaded the results of his return to Bohemia, and declared that his retractation was not sincere. Gerson wrote a pamphlet to examine the amount of evidence to be attached to the retractation of one accused of heresy. The fanaticism that had been aroused by antagonism to the Hussites won at Constance the victory which it could not win in Bohemia. The Council determined to proceed against Jerome, and on February 24, 1416, appointed fresh Commissioners to examine witnesses on the

Proceedings against Jerome. February —April, 1416.

[1] Letter to Lacho of Krawar, dated Sept. 12, in Palacky, *Documenta*, 598.

points laid to his charge. On April 27 the articles of accusation were laid before the Council. Jerome had not been a writer or preacher like Hus, and his words could not be quoted against him; but every act of his life was set forth as a separate charge. He had been to England, and had brought back the books of Wyclif; he had been concerned in all the disturbances in Bohemia; he had rambled over Europe, carrying heresy in his train. Every daring act into which his impetuous temper had led him was now raked up against him. He had interfered to aid a citizen, whose servant was being carried off for some slight cause to a monastery prison, and when the monks attacked him, had snatched a sword from one of the citizens and put them to flight. He had been moved with pity for a young monk whose abbot denied him the necessaries of life, and had accompanied him into the abbot's presence, where he flung off his cowl and rushed away from the monastery. He had slapped the face of a monk who publicly insulted him.

Poggio Bracciolini's account of the trial of Jerome.

Jerome demanded a public audience in which to answer these charges, and on May 23 was brought before the Council. Amongst those present at his trial was the Florentine scholar Poggio Bracciolini, who had come to Constance as secretary to John XXIII. On the dispersal of the Papal household he had wandered for a time in Germany, searching for manuscripts of the classics, and had again returned to Constance to seek his fortune from some patron of learning. Poggio was deeply impressed by the vigorous personality of Jerome, and communicated his impressions in a letter to his friend Leonardo Bruni. As a man of letters and of culture Poggio looked with some slight contempt on the theological disputes of the assembled fathers. As an Italian he found it hard to sympathise with men who thought it worth while to rebel against the system of the Church. To his mind theological questions were not of much importance. The established system must, of course, be maintained for the preservation of order; but, after a decent recognition of its outward authority, the

cultivated individual might think or act as he pleased so long as he avoided open collision. Poggio had no fellow-feeling with a man who was prepared to die for his opinions: he thought him clumsy for reducing himself to such an unpleasant alternative. But he was attracted to Jerome by his force, his mental versatility, his fiery self-confidence, his keen wit, and, above all, his philosophic spirit. To Poggio Jerome was an interesting study of character, and he saw the permanent and human interest attaching to the religious martyr. From Poggio's testimony we are able to bring vividly before our eyes the scene of Jerome's trial.[1]

When Jerome appeared he was called upon to answer to each of the articles brought against him. This he refused for a long time to do, and demanded that he should first state his own case, and then answer his adversaries' allegations. When his claim was overruled he said, 'What iniquity is this, that I, who have been kept in a foul prison for three hundred and forty days without means of preparing my defence, while my adversaries have always had your ears, am now refused an hour to defend myself? Your minds are prejudiced against me as a heretic; you judged me to be wicked before you had any means of knowing what manner of man I was. And yet you are men, not gods; mortals, not eternal; you are liable to error and mistake. The more you claim to be held as lights of the world, the more careful you ought to be to approve your justice to all men. I, whose cause you judge, am of no repute, nor do I speak for myself, for death comes to all; but I would not have so many wise men do an unjust act, which will do more harm by the precedent it gives than by the punishment it inflicts.'

Trial of Jerome. May 23, 1416.

He was heard with murmurs. The articles against him were read one by one from the pulpit. He put forth all his skill and eloquence to plead against their truth. Poggio was amazed at the dignity, openness, and vigour with which

[1] The letter has been often printed, in Von der Hardt, iii., 64; Poggio, *Opera*, 301; Palacky, *Documenta*, 624; and in many other places.

he spoke. 'If he really believed what he said, not only could no cause of death be found in him, but not even of the slightest offence.' Sometimes with jest, sometimes with irony, sometimes with sarcasm, sometimes with fiery indignation, sometimes with fervid eloquence, he answered the charges brought against him. When he was pressed on the question of Transubstantiation, and was charged with having said that after consecration the bread remained bread, he dryly said, 'At the baker's it remains bread'. When a Dominican fiercely attacked him, he exclaimed, 'Hypocrite, hold your tongue!' When another made oath on his conscience, he rejoined, 'That is the surest way to deceive'. So numerous were the charges against him that his case had to be put off for three days, till May 26.

Jerome's second audience. May 26, 1416.

In the next audience the reading of the articles and testimony against him was ended, and Jerome with difficulty obtained leave to speak. Beginning with an humble prayer to God, he began a magnificent defence. Gifted with a sweet, clear, resonant voice, he sometimes poured forth torrents of fiery indignation and sometimes touched the chords of deepest pathos. He set forth the glorious fate of those who in old times had suffered wrongfully. Beginning with Socrates, he traced the persecutions of philosophers down to Boethius. Then he turned to the Scriptures, and from Joseph down to Stephen showed how goodness had met with calumny and persecution. Stephen, he urged, was put to death by an assembly of priests; the Apostles were persecuted as subverters of order and movers of sedition. He pleaded that no greater iniquity could be committed than that priests should be wrongfully condemned to death by priests; yet this had often occurred in the past. Then, turning to his own case, he showed that the witnesses against him were moved by personal animosity, and were not worthy of belief. He had come to the Council to clear his own character; he had hoped that men in these days might do as they had done of old, engage in amicable discussion with a view of investi-

gating the truth. Augustine and Jerome had differed, nay, had asserted, on some points, contrary opinions, without any suspicion of heresy on either side.

His audience was moved by his eloquence, and sat expecting that he would urge his retractation and ask pardon for his errors. To their surprise and grief, he went on to say that he was conscious of no errors, and could not retract the false charges brought against him. He had recanted through fear and against his conscience, but now revoked the letter he had written to Bohemia. He had looked on Hus as a just and holy man, whose fate he was prepared to share, leaving the lying witnesses against him to answer for their doings in the presence of God, whom they could not deceive. A cry arose from the Council, and many strove to induce Jerome to explain away his words. But his courage had returned, and he was resolved to tread in his master's footsteps to the stake. He repeated his belief in the opinions of Hus and of Wyclif, except in points concerning the Eucharist, where he held with the doctors of the Church. 'Hus,' he exclaimed, 'spoke not against the Church of God, but against the abuses of the clergy, the pride and pomp of the prelates. The patrimony of the Church should be spent on the poor, on strangers and on buildings; but it is spent on harlots and banquets, horses and dogs, splendid apparel, and other things unworthy of Christ's religion.'

Jerome withdraws his recantation.

The Council still gave him a few days for consideration, but to no purpose. On May 30 he was brought before a general session in the cathedral. The eloquence of the Bishop of Lodi was again called into request to convince the obstinate heretic of the justice of his doom.[1] When the sermon was over Jerome repeated the withdrawal of his former retractation. Sentence was passed against him, and he was led away to be burned in

Death of Jerome. May 30, 1416.

[1] The sermon is given in Von der Hardt, iii., 55. It is a pretty specimen of arrangement and of style, but is entirely without the feeling which the circumstances might have been expected to inspire.

the same place as Hus. Like Hus, he went to die with calm and cheerful face. As he left the cathedral he began to chant the Creed and then the Litany. When he reached the place of execution he knelt before the stake, as though it had been an image of Hus, and prayed. As he was bound he again recited the Creed, and called the people to witness that in that faith he died. When the executioner was going to light the pile at his back he called to him, 'Come in front, and light it before my face; if I had feared death, I would never have come here'. As the flames gathered round him he sang a hymn till his voice was choked by the smoke. As in the case of Hus, his clothes were burned, and his ashes were cast into the Rhine.

The Council had done all that lay in its power to restore peace in Bohemia.

CHAPTER VI.

SIGISMUND'S JOURNEY, AND THE COUNCIL DURING HIS ABSENCE.

1415—1416.

THE Council had displayed its zeal for the promotion of the unity of the Church, both within and without, by deposing a Pope and burning two heretics. But there still remained other pretenders to the Papal dignity; and the trials of Hus and Jerome were only episodes in the more important question of the resignation of the contending Popes.

Abdication of Gregory XII. July 4, 1415.

Gregory XII., weary of the conflict, and seeing himself abandoned on every side, submitted with good grace to abdicate. After a few negotiations about preliminaries, the abdication was formally carried out by Carlo Malatesta, acting as Gregory's proctor, in a general session of the Council, on July 4, 1415. The two Colleges of Cardinals were united, Gregory's acts in the Papacy were ratified, his officials were confirmed in their offices; he himself received the title of Cardinal of Porto and the legation in the March of Ancona for life; he was declared ineligible for re-election to the Papacy, but was to rank next to the future Pope. At the same time a decree was passed that the Council should not be dissolved till it had elected a new Pope.

There still remained Benedict XIII., who had agreed to be present at a conference at Nice between Ferdinand of Aragon and Sigismund, in June, 1415. But the exciting scenes which followed on the flight of John XXIII. obliged Sigismund to defer his departure till July 18. Owing to the illness of the King

Departure of Sigismund on a journey of general pacification. July 18, 1415.

of Aragon, the place of meeting was changed from Nice to Perpignan. Thither went Benedict XIII. in June, and waited till the end of the month, when he declared Sigismund contumacious and retired to Valencia. Sigismund, in a speech to the Council before his departure, announced his intentions on a grand scale. He purposed first to appease the Schism, then to make peace between France and England, between Poland and the Teutonic knights; and after this general pacification of Europe, to undertake a crusade against the Turks.[1] It was Sigismund's merit that he formed great plans of European importance; it was his weakness that he never considered what means he had to carry them into execution. To obtain money for this journey, which was to have such mighty results, he was compelled to raise 250,000 marks by making over Brandenburg to the wealthy Frederick, Burggraf of Nürnberg. Frederick had already lent him 150,000 marks, and now, for the additional sum, obtained from the needy Emperor a grant of Brandenburg and the electoral dignity.

Sigismund at Perpignan. Sept., 1415.

Sigismund set out in state with a train of 4000 knights, amid the good wishes of the fathers of the Council, who ordered a solemn procession to be made every Sunday, and mass to be said for his safety. He journeyed over Schaffhausen to Basel, and thence to Chambery and Narbonne, where he arrived on August 15. There he stayed for a month, waiting for the arrival at Perpignan of Ferdinand of Aragon, whose health scarcely permitted the journey. On September 18, he entered Perpignan, where Ferdinand awaited him. Benedict, who had raised objections about a safe-conduct, and had demanded that Sigismund should treat him as Pope,

[1] This speech of Sigismund's is given in Gerson's sermon to the Council, on July 21 (Von der Hardt, ii., 483). Von der Hardt makes this sermon be delivered before Sigismund's departure, which he therefore puts down to this same day, July 21. But Gerson says of this speech 'prius quam recederet ab hoc concilio orationem habuit'; and Niem (Von der Hardt, ii., 411) says that Sigismund went on July 18. See also the letter of the envoy of the University of Köln, Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1640.

was at length driven by Ferdinand's pressure to appear also towards the end of September. The efforts of Ferdinand and Sigismund could do nothing to bend the obstinate spirit of Benedict to submit to the Council. He answered that to him the way of justice seemed better than the way of abdication. If, however, the kings thought otherwise, he was ready to abdicate, provided that the decrees of the Council of Pisa were revoked, the Council of Constance dissolved, and a new Council called in some free and impartial place—in the south of France or Aragon. As regarded the election of a new Pope, he claimed that he alone should nominate, as being the only Cardinal appointed by Gregory XI. before the Schism. If that was not acceptable, he would appoint a committee of his Cardinals, and the Council might appoint an equal number of their Cardinals; the new election should be made by a majority in each committee agreeing to the same person. After such election he would abdicate, retaining his Cardinals, with full legatine power over all his present obedience.

Benedict was true to his old principles. He had been elected Pope by as good a title as his predecessors, and he saw no reason why he should abandon his legal rights. Threats were useless against his stubbornness. When the Kings of Aragon, Navarre, and Castile threatened him with a withdrawal of obedience if he did not give way, he only grew more determined in his refusal. Sigismund found himself unsafe at Perpignan; his enemies seemed resolved to attack him when he was in a foreign land. A fire suspiciously broke out in a house adjoining his own, and the Infante Alfonso rushed to his rescue with assurances of his father's protection. Some of Sigismund's German followers rode away and left him without giving any reason. A suspicious embassy came from Frederick of Austria, which was said to have two notorious poisoners in its train.[1] Fearing for his personal safety,

Obstinate resistance of Benedict XIII.

[1] These mishaps are told by Windeck, in Mencken, i., 1098.

Sigismund withdrew to Narbonne in the beginning of November, where he was followed by the ambassadors of the Spanish princes and of Scotland. New negotiations were set on foot, and Benedict, seeing himself threatened with a withdrawal of obedience, fled to the neighbouring fortress of Collioure, intending to take refuge in Sardinia; his galleys, however, were destroyed by the ships of the neighbouring ports. Several of his Cardinals, at the request of the King of Aragon, returned to Perpignan; and Benedict, who scorned to yield, retired to the rocky fortress of Peniscola, which belonged to his family. Popular feeling was everywhere turning against him; his staunch upholder—the great Dominican preacher, Vincent Ferrer—went as ambassador to urge Benedict to resign, and on his refusal raised his voice in favour of union with the Council of Constance.

Negotiations went on rapidly between Sigismund and the King of Aragon. At last, on December 13, twelve articles were drawn up at Narbonne between the representatives of the Council and those of Benedict's obedience. It was agreed that the Council of Constance should issue a summons to the princes and prelates of Benedict's obedience to come to Constance within three months and form a General Council; a similar summons was to be addressed by Benedict's obedience to the Council of Constance. When in this way the dignity of both parties had been preserved, the General Council so formed was to proceed to the deposition of Benedict, the election of a new Pope, the reformation of the Church, and the destruction of heresy. Benedict's acts till his first summons to withdraw on November 15 were to be ratified, his Cardinals and other officials recognised by the Council, and a safe-conduct given to himself if he chose to appear.

Articles of Narbonne between the Council and Benedict's obedience. Dec. 13, 1415.

Great was the joy of the Council when, on the evening of December 29, the news of this compact was brought to Constance. Communications with Narbonne had been rare, and rumours of every sort prevailed. The Council found their proceedings a little dull in Sigis-

Joy at Constance over the news.

mund's absence. Commissioners might sit and discuss various questions of Church reform, but it was clear that nothing would be done till Sigismund was back again. The expenses of a stay in Constance began to weigh heavily, and the representatives of universities and other corporations found it necessary to urge on their constituents the importance of the work on which the Council was engaged, and the need of their continued presence at Constance. The first joy of the Council at the good news from Narbonne was a little checked when it came to consider the formalities that had to be gone through before its real business could proceed any further. Sigismund had not obtained, as had been hoped, the resignation of Benedict XIII.; the way was not yet open for ending the Schism; but the union of Spain with the Council would bring about again the union of Christendom. Hopes of ending the Council by Easter, 1415, were exchanged for expectations that it might be over in September, 1416.[1] The good news that Ferdinand of Aragon had on January 6 ordered the publication throughout his dominions of the withdrawal of allegiance from Benedict XIII. hardly compensated for the news that Sigismund proposed to make a journey to Paris and London to arrange for peace between France and England. The ambassadors of the Council, who returned on January 29, assured them of the great use of this step in procuring the unity of the Church, and brought Sigismund's promise that he would return as soon as possible.

Plans of Sigismund.

If Sigismund, before leaving Constance, had set forth as one of his objects the establishment of peace between France and England, events that had happened since then had increased the danger which the union of Christendom was likely to incur from the growth of national animosity. In August, 1415, Henry V.

[1] These details are taken from the letters of the ambassadors of the University of Köln in Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1654, etc., and the letters of Peter von Pulka, ambassador of the University of Vienna, published by Firnhaber in vol. xv. of the *Archiv für Oesterreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, p. 39.

had sailed to France, in September had taken Harfleur, and in October had inflicted on the French army the crushing defeat of Agincourt. The Council thought that Sigismund's presence was consequently more than ever necessary at Constance to keep the peace and hasten on the business. But Sigismund had his own ends to serve while serving the Council. He had already succeeded in asserting anew the glories of the Imperial name in the affairs of the Church; he was equally resolved to assert it in the politics of Europe. His scheme of uniting Europe in a crusade against the Turk might be a dream; but at least it was a noble dream. In matters more immediately at hand—the full reunion and reform of the Church—Sigismund saw that nothing could be done on a satisfactory basis unless Europe were agreed. As bearing the Imperial name, Sigismund resolved to try and unite Europe for this purpose. It is true that he had little save the Imperial name to support him in his good intentions; yet, if his plan succeeded, he would work a lasting result for the good of Christendom, and would assert the old prestige of the Empire.

Sigismund in Paris. March—April, 1416.

Full of hope, he entered Paris on March 1, 1416, and was received with splendid festivities. But the fierce antagonism of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions had been intensified by the national discomfiture, and Sigismund found that in the disturbed state of Paris he could obtain no definite understanding: what one party accepted the other refused. Yet Sigismund tried his utmost to win the French Court to his projects: he offered to wed his daughter Elizabeth with the second son of Charles VI., and so make him heir to the Hungarian throne, as he had no male offspring.[1] When he found that he could do nothing in Paris, he pursued his way to England, and even on his journey was treated with contumely at Abbeville and Boulogne. It was clear that there was a strong party in France which had no wish for peace.

[1] Letter of Sigismund to the King, in Caro, *Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismund's* (Wien, 1879), p. 120.

Sigismund arrived in London on May 3, and there also great festivities were held in his honour. He took with him William, Duke of Holland, an ally of England, a relative of the French King, and consequently likely to be trusted by both parties. Henry V. was willing to accept Sigismund's offer of mediation and agree to a truce for three years, on condition of retaining Harfleur, a small compensation for the glorious campaign of Agincourt. Preliminaries were agreed to, and a conference between the three monarchs was arranged; but suddenly negotiations were broken off by the successful intrigues of the Count of Armagnac. William of Holland abruptly left England, and Sigismund found his mediation ignominiously disavowed. Sigismund was bitterly disappointed, and was placed in an awkward situation by this sudden change in the policy of France. Public opinion in England regarded him with grave suspicion, and he was entirely in the hands of Henry V. The Imperial honour had been sullied and the Imperial dignity outraged in this negotiation, from which Sigismund had hoped so much. He wrote angrily to the French King, and withdrew from further complicity in his affairs.[1] He had indeed cause to be aggrieved, for he had not merely failed, but his failure threatened to be disastrous. He could not return to Constance crestfallen and discredited; he could not even leave England suspicious of his good intentions.

Failure of Sigismund's peace project. Aug. 1416.

One course only remained open for him—to abandon his alliance with France, and draw nearer to England. Henry V., on his part, was ready enough to renew the policy of Edward I. and Edward III., of forming an alliance with Germany against France. On August 15 Sigismund concluded at Canterbury an offensive and defensive alliance with Henry V., on the ground that the French favoured the Schism of the Church, and opposed all efforts to make peace with England.[2] It was an event of no

Alliance of Sigismund and Henry V. Aug. 15, 1416.

[1] This long and interesting letter, which serves as the basis for the above account, is printed by Caro, p. 109, etc.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., 377, etc.

small importance in European politics; it was a breach of the long-standing friendship between France and the house of Luxemburg—a friendship which Sigismund's grandfather, John of Bohemia, had sealed with his blood on the field of Crecy. At the end of August Sigismund went to Calais, where Henry V. soon joined him, and again a conference for peace was held; to it came the Duke of Burgundy, who, in his hatred against the Count of Armagnac, was ready to listen to Henry V.'s proposals for a separate alliance. When the conference was over Sigismund bethought himself of returning to Constance. He was so short of money that he had to send his trusty servant, Eberard Windeck, to Bruges to pawn for 18,000 ducats the presents which he had received from Henry V. and his Court.[1] From Calais he went by sea to Dordrecht, and then made his way slowly up the Rhine to Constance, where he arrived on January 27, 1417, after an absence of nearly a year and a half.

Return of Sigismund to Constance. Jan. 27, 1417.

Great was the delight of the Council at Sigismund's return; he was met outside the wall, and was escorted in solemn procession to the cathedral. But the account of his reception shows us how strong an element of discord the national animosity between the French and English had introduced into the Council. The English observed with pride that Sigismund wore round his neck the Order of the Garter; and the Bishop of Salisbury, after meeting Sigismund, rode hastily away to the cathedral, that he might frustrate Peter d'Ailly, and get possession of the pulpit for the purpose of delivering a sermon of welcome. Sigismund, on his side, did not scruple to manifest in a marked way his wish for a good understanding with the English. On January 29 he received the English nation at a private audience, shook hands with each of its members, praised all that he had seen in England, and assured them of his wish to work with them for the reformation of the Church.[2] On Sunday, January 31, he

[1] Windeck, in Mencken, i., 1113.

[2] These details are given in an interesting letter of the English ambassador, John Forester, to Henry V., in Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., 434.

wore the robes of the Garter at high mass, and was afterwards entertained by the English at a magnificent banquet, which was enlivened by a miracle play representing the birth of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, and the massacre of the Innocents.

During Sigismund's absence from Constance the Council had been unanimous only in condemning Jerome of Prag for heresy. The rest of its business had advanced but slowly. It is true that at the end of July a commission had been appointed to report upon the measures necessary for a reform of the Church in head and members. The commission consisted of thirty-five members, eight from each of the four nations, and three Cardinals, D'Ailly, Zabarella, and Adimari.[1] There was no lack of material for the labours of the commissioners: sermons, memoirs, and tractates furnished them with copious lists of grievances. But the difficulty was to decide where to begin. All were anxious to do something; but each regarded as sacred the interests of his own order, and it was impossible to attack the fabric of abuses without endangering some of the props which supported the existing organisation of the hierarchy. The general outline of the reforming scheme was clear and simple enough: it was a demand that the Pope should live on his own revenues, should abstain from interference in episcopal and capitular elections and presentations to benefices throughout Christendom, and should not unnecessarily interfere with episcopal or national jurisdictions. All these questions were really questions of finance, and the times were not favourable to serious financial reform. The Papal dominions in Italy were in the hands of the invader, and there was little revenue which could at that time be said to belong indisputably to the Pope. If the Pope were to be prohibited from making

Appointment of the first Reform Commission. July 14, 1415.

[1] The letter of the ambassador of the University of Köln, dated Aug. 1, says: 'Sex deputati de qualibet quatuor nationum'. Pulka in Firnhaber, 28, says: 'Octo de qualibet natione,' which agrees with the title of the report in Von der Hardt, i., 583, 'Avisamenta per xxxv. Cardinales, prælates et doctores'.

any demands on ecclesiastical revenues, he would be left almost penniless, and the Cardinals who depended on him would be destitute. Moreover, the Pope's claims to raise money were the sign of the recognition of his supremacy, and it was difficult to forbid his extortion without impairing his necessary authority. The College of Cardinals during Sigismund's absence regained its prestige and influence in the Council, and had a direct and personal interest in preventing any unreasonable diminution of the Papal revenues or of the Papal power. The reform commission found it necessary to proceed slowly and cautiously: they could only obtain unanimity on unimportant points; when they discussed matters of graver moment it was a question what was to be allowed to remain in the present necessity.

Complaint of the French nation against annates.

The tax which the French were most anxious to see reformed was the one called annates, which included all the payments demanded by the Curia on the collation to a benefice. Such dues seem to have had their origin in the custom of making presents to those who officiated at ordinations, a custom which the Papacy had organised into a definite tax on all bishops and abbots, whose nomination passed through the Papal Consistory;[1] the tax was levied upon a moderate assessment of the yearly value of their revenues in the books of the Consistory. During the Schism this sort of revenue was extended, it is said by the ingenuity of Boniface IX., to all benefices, and incoming incumbents were in every case required to pay half the revenues of the first year to the Pope, under a penalty of excommunication if they refused. The abolition of this oppressive impost was loudly demanded by the French deputies in the commission; but the Cardinals

[1] This payment consisted of two parts, the 'servitia communia,' which was divided between the Pope and the Cardinals, and the 'servitia minuta,' which went to the lower officials of the Chancery. On this complicated subject see Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, v., 557, etc. A tax roll for the assessment of annates, of the date of about 1460, is given by Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Cultur-Geschichte*, ii., 1, etc.; it contains much curious statistical information.

offered determined opposition to their pleadings, and urged that annates were the chief support of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, if they were abolished at present the Pope and Cardinals would be left penniless. Their opposition so far weighed with the representatives of the other nations that they agreed to allow this question to stand over. In truth, the question of annates affected France more closely than any other kingdom, as the necessity of supporting a Pope during the Schism had weighed most heavily on France. England had withstood the attempts of Boniface IX. to extend the payment of annates to all benefices, and the old payment only was made by bishops. In Italy benefices were of small value, and the civic communities knew how to protect themselves against Papal aggression; in Germany the bishops were more powerful than in France, and so could defend themselves. The French complained that they paid more than all the other nations put together, and bore the burden and heat of the day.[1] This might be true; but when a proposal was made to substitute for annates a yearly tax of one-fiftieth of the value of all benefices above ten ducats for the maintenance of the Curia, we are not surprised that the more favoured nations hesitated to adopt the new scheme.[2]

Failure of the movement for the abolition of annates.

The French were not so ready as the other nations to let the question of annates stand over. When they found that they were beaten in the commission, they tried to bring pressure to bear upon that body by taking action in their own nation. Accordingly, on October 15, 1415, the French nation discussed the question for themselves. Their debates were tumultuous, and extended over seven sittings, as each man gave his vote and

[1] See *Collatio Cleri Gallicani*, in Bourgeois du Chastenet, 409-78. Also *Apostoli venerabilis nationis Gallicanæ*, in *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ch. xxii., where the facts are stated.

[2] This proposal, which gives a detailed calculation of the estimated expenses of the reformed Curia, is printed by Döllinger, *Beiträge*, ii., 321. There is no date, and perhaps the document was drawn up later, but the scheme was probably discussed at this time.

stated his reasons separately. At last, on November 2, the majority was declared to be in favour of the abolition of annates, and the appointment of a commission to consider the means of making a fair provision for the Pope and Cardinals in their stead. This conclusion was communicated to the other nations, and their co-operation was invited to carry it out; but the Italians entirely rejected the proposal, and the Germans and English did not think it advisable to discuss the matter at that time. The Cardinals called on the Procurator Fiscal of the Apostolic See to lodge a protest against the proposal as an encroachment on the Papal rights. The French replied by setting forth at length their grievances; but nothing was done. The failure of this first attempt at common action in the matter of reform damped the ardour of the most advanced reformers, and showed the Cardinals their strength as a compact body when opposed to varying national interests.

Lethargy of the Council about reform. Dec., 1415—Apr., 1416.

After this effort of the French the Reform Commission was left to continue its labours in peace. On December 19 the German nation moved that the Council proceed to consider measures to put down simony; but no practical steps were taken.

Even on the question of the reform of the Benedictine Order agreement was so difficult that, though the Council definitely appointed commissioners on February 19, 1416, the matter was allowed to stand over. On April 5 Sigismund wrote from Paris to the Council, begging them to suspend all important matters till his return, and meanwhile to employ themselves with considering the reform of the clergy, especially in Germany. He recommended for their consideration such points as the manners, dress, and bearing of the clergy, and the prevention of hereditary claims over the lands of the Church. He urged them also to reconsider their proceedings in the matter of Jean Petit.

This last question was, in fact, the only one in which the Council had shown any ardour, and it was simply a transference to Constance of the political animosity by which

France was convulsed. As the struggle in Bohemia between the Tchecks and Germans had made its way to the Council Chamber, so the struggle in France between Orleanists and Burgundians penetrated into matters which craved for ecclesiastical decision. Louis of Orleans, brother of Charles VI. of France, had been murdered in 1407, and there was no doubt that the murder had been instigated by his opponent, the Duke of Burgundy. It might have been expected that such an act would have met with reprobation at the hands of those who were the guardians of public morality. But Louis of Orleans had been the supporter of Benedict XIII., who was the opponent of the policy of the University of Paris, and had shown himself willing to diminish its privileges and importance. One of the doctors of the University, Jean Petit, made an apology for the Duke of Burgundy before the helpless King on March 8, 1408. He justified his patron by a series of ingenious sophistries which affected the very foundations of political society. He set forth that any subject who plots against the welfare of his sovereign is worthy of death, and that his culpability is increased in proportion to his high degree. Hence it is lawful, nay, meritorious, for any one, without waiting for an express command, but relying on moral and divine law, to kill such traitor and tyrant, and the more meritorious in proportion to his high degree. Promises which are contrary to the welfare of the sovereign are not binding, and ought to be set aside; nay, dissimulation is justifiable if it renders easier the death of the traitor. Besides enunciating these propositions, Petit assailed the memory of the Duke of Orleans, and accused him of sorcery and evil practices to compass the King's death. Arguments might serve for a time to justify, in the opinion of his partisans, one who was master of the situation. But the moderate party in the University, headed by Gerson, looked with alarm on the enunciation of principles which they considered subversive both of moral and political order. So long as the Duke of Burgundy was

Opinions of Jean Petit.

Condemnation of Petit by the Bishop of Paris. 1413.

supreme they could do little to make their voices heard; but when in 1412 the Armagnac party succeeded in driving the Duke of Burgundy from Paris, they were eager to justify the memory of the murdered Duke of Orleans and fix a moral stigma on their opponents. In 1413 the Bishop of Paris summoned a Council to examine the doctrines of Petit, who had died two years before. After some deliberation nine propositions drawn from the writings of Petit were condemned in February, 1414, and his book was publicly burned. The Duke of Burgundy appealed against this decision to the Pope, and John XXIII. deputed three Cardinals to examine the matter. Their deliberations were yet pending when the Council was summoned, and so this important controversy was transferred to Constance. The representatives of the University of Paris were chosen from those opposed to the views of Petit; the Burgundian ambassadors were ordered to prevent Petit's official condemnation. It was this state of parties that led John XXIII. to hope for help against the Council from the Duke of Burgundy, and the Council was by no means anxious to alienate so powerful a prince.

Moderating action of the Council towards Petit's opinions. 1415.

As soon, however, as the Council was rid of all fear from John XXIII., and by its proceedings against Hus had shown its zeal to maintain the purity of the faith, Gerson pressed for the condemnation of the doctrines of Petit. On June 15, 1415, a commission was appointed to examine the matter; and as Sigismund was anxious to have something decided before he went away, the Council on July 6, the same day on which it condemned Hus as a heretic, passed a decree which it hoped might be an acceptable compromise in the matter of Jean Petit. The decree set forth that the Council, in its desire to extirpate all erroneous opinions, declares heretical the assertion that any tyrant may be killed by any vassal or subject of his own, even by treachery, in despite of oaths, and without any judicial sentence being passed against him. The decree made no mention of France or of Petit; it was purely general, and did not go into the details of Petit's argu-

ments, but merely condemned an abstract proposition without any reference to the events which called it forth.

Gerson was indignant at this lenient treatment of Petit, especially when contrasted with the severity shown at the same time towards Hus. He asserted that if Hus had been allowed an advocate, he would never have been condemned.[1] He went so far in his indignation as to say that he would rather be tried by Jews and heathens than by the Council. He entered with strong personal warmth into the controversy, and was not content to let it rest, although the prospect of a war with England made the French Court anxious that nothing should be done which could alienate the Duke of Burgundy. He pressed for a further decision on Petit's propositions, and involved himself in a dispute with the Bishop of Arras, who argued that they concerned points of philosophy and politics rather than theology. Gerson carried his zeal beyond the limits of discretion, and wearied the Council with his repeated expostulations. Naturally the Council did not like to be told that they, who had not spared a pope, ought not, through fear of a prince, to desert the defence of the truth. Taking advantage of this feeling, a Franciscan, Jean de Rocha, presented before the Commission for Matters of the Faith twenty-five articles drawn from Gerson's writings, which he declared to be heretical. The Bishop of Arras similarly accused of heresy Peter d'Ailly. The Council which was the scene of such proceedings had entirely lost its moral force. When the learned fathers of the Church tried to brand as heretics those who took the opposite side in national politics, we cannot wonder that the condemnation of Jerome of Prag by such a tribunal did not at once carry conviction to the rebellious Bohemians. They had some grounds at least for arguing that the wisest of the Council, Gerson and D'Ailly, were eager for the condemnation of Hus, that it might pave the way for the condemna-

Quarrel of Gerson and the Burgundian party.

[1] Gerson, *Op.*, v., 444

tion of Petit,—that Gerson's suspicions of the sincerity of Jerome's recantation were sharpened by the feeling that his own orthodoxy was not above attack.

Action of the Cardinals towards Petit's case. 1416.

It would seem that the majority of the Council were heartily wearied of this question, and in the beginning of 1416 there was a general request that the Commissioners on Matters of Faith should pronounce an opinion, one way or the other, on the nine propositions of Petit But the matter was further complicated by the action of the Cardinals Orsini, Zabarella, and Pancerini, who had been deputed by John XXIII. to consider the appeal of the Duke of Burgundy against the decision of the Council of Paris. They now gave their judgment on that appeal, and quashed the proceedings of the Parisian Council on grounds of informality. It had proceeded in a matter of faith of which only the Pope could take cognisance, and also had not summoned the accused parties, but had founded its judgment on passages which were not authentic writings of Petit The Cardinals seem to have taken this step from a desire to reserve the whole question for the decision of a future Pope.

Opinion in the Council on Petit's propositions.

But in France the position of parties had again changed. After the defeat of Agincourt, the Orleanists represented the national and patriotic party, and the Duke of Burgundy had to flee to Flanders. The Orleanists possessed themselves of the royal authority, and in the King's name pressed for the condemnation of Petit. On March 19 they appealed from the decision of the commissioners to that of the Council. The commissioners in their defence published the opinions of canonists which they had collected: twenty-six were in favour of condemning Petit, sixty-one were against the condemnation. It may seem to us monstrous that such should have been the result. But the Council had already pronounced its decision against the general principle of the lawfulness of tyrannicide, and many thought that it was undesirable for political reasons to go farther. Many regarded the question

as not properly a theological question, and objected to its decision on purely theological grounds; many regarded it as a mere party matter in which the Council would do well not to meddle. Moreover, the question in itself admitted of some doubt in a time when political institutions were in a rudimentary stage. Political assassinations wore a different aspect in days when the destinies of a nation might rest on the caprice of an individual. Classical and biblical antiquity supplied instances of tyrannicide which won the admiration of posterity. Many felt unwilling in their hearts that the Church should absolutely forbid conduct which it could not be denied was sometimes useful.

Still Gerson pursued his point, and the struggle between himself and the Bishop of Arras waxed warmer. Sigismund wrote from Paris urging that the decision of the three Cardinals against the proceedings of the Bishop of Paris should be recalled; but the Cardinals wrote back a justification of their own conduct. The weary controversy still went on and occupied the time and energies of the Council. It awakened such strong feeling that the Burgundian prelates separated themselves from the rest of the Gallican nation. Gerson flung himself entirely into this question, and so diminished the influence which his learning had previously gained him at Constance. The Council would not decide the matter, but preferred to leave it for the future Pope. Gerson exclaimed that no reformation could be wrought by the Council, unless it were under a wise and powerful head.[1] When Sigismund returned to Constance, Gerson hoped that he would use his influence to have the matter settled. But the change which the English alliance had wrought in Sigismund's political attitude made him unwilling to offend the Duke of Burgundy. The French prelates remained in a state of gloomy dissatisfaction, and the animosities which this dreary question had raised destroyed the una-

[1] *Dialogus Apologeticus;* Gerson, *Op.*, ii., 392: 'Video quod ecclesiæ reformatio nunquam fiet per Concilium sine præsidentia ductoris affectati bene, prudentis simul et constantis'.

nimity of the Council and did much to hamper its future labours.

Nor was this the only cause of disunion in the Council. The assembled fathers were eagerly waiting the opportunity of finishing their greatest and most important task, the restoration of the unity of the Church. For this purpose they needed the incorporation of the Spanish kingdoms and the formal deposition of Benedict XIII. The death of Ferdinand of Aragon on April 2, 1416, caused some delay in sending ambassadors; and his successor, Alfonso V., though anxious to carry out his father's plans, was not in a position to do so at once. Not till September 5 did the Aragonese envoys arrive, and they were at first unwilling to join the Council till they had been joined by the representatives of Castile. At length their scruples were overcome, and on October 15 a fifth nation, the Spanish, was constituted in the Council. But this process was not completed without difficulties which portended future troubles. First the Portuguese, who had joined the Council on June 1, protested against the formation of a Spanish nation as disparaging the honour of Portugal, which claimed to be a nation by itself. Next the Aragonese claimed precedence over the English, and the English protested against their claim. The French then allowed the Aragonese to sit alternately with themselves, protesting that they did so without prejudice to the dignity of the French nation.

Incorporation of Aragon with the Council. Oct. 15, 1416.

The alliance thus made between the French and Aragonese was used by the French as a means of annoying the English. The Aragonese raised the question of the right of the English to be considered a nation. Loud hissings were heard in the Council Chamber at this attempt to introduce a spirit of faction, and the Aragonese ambassadors left the room. The question was dismissed, but the ill-feeling created by it remained; the English and French wore arms in the streets, and there was constant fear of an open collision. So serious was the

Discord of French and English. Nov.—Dec., 1416.

discord that, on December 23, a congregation continued wrangling till late at night, and then fell to blows, so that the Pfalzgraf Lewis and Frederick of Nürnberg had to be hastily summoned to preserve order.

This was the state of things that awaited Sigismund on his arrival at Constance, and his change of political attitude during his absence deprived him of the power to exercise any moderating influence upon the discord which wasted the energies of the Council.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE ELECTION OF MARTIN V.

1417.

Politics of the Council.

We may feel that the conflicts which agitated the fathers at Constance displayed a petty spirit and an undue attention to formal matters, yet they were more truly the signs of the growth of strong national feelings that were affecting European politics. The ideal unity of the Church when embodied in a European congress could not rise superior to the actual antagonisms of contending nations. Indeed the very question that called the Council together was in its origin political; the Schism in the Church had arisen through the desire of France to secure the Papacy on the side of her own national interests. An experience of the evils of the Schism had led Europe to wish to end it by the arbitration of a General Council. On the question of the union of the Church there had been at Constance practical unanimity; but when that point was on a fair way to solution the same unanimity was no longer to be expected in other matters. The very nature of the questions which the Council next took in hand shows the strength of national sentiment. The condemnation of Hus was not merely a matter of faith; it was a step towards suppressing the movement of the Tchecks against the Germans in Eastern Europe. The question of Jean Petit was a transference to Constance of the struggle of parties which was rending France asunder. In like manner the deadly con-

test between France and England carried its national antagonism into the affairs of the Council.

It is true that there was no question of doctrine or of ecclesiastical practice round which this contest could rage; for that very reason it sought expression in trivial matters, and the point of the constitution of the Council opened up a wide field to technical ingenuity. It would have been a difficult matter to arrange with any definiteness a scheme for the representation of united Christendom, nor was this ever attempted at Constance. The constitution of the Council was established in a haphazard way at the beginning; the organisation into four nations had been practically accepted at a time when the Council was anxious to proceed to business and assert its position against John XXIII. The incorporation with the Council of the Spanish kingdoms gave the French an opportunity of discussing the general organisation of Christendom, and so aiming a blow at the pride and honour of England. The leader of the French in this attack was Peter d'Ailly, who probably had ulterior objects in view, and was glad of an opportunity for educating his nation to follow his lead.[1] If feeling ran high between the French and the English during Sigismund's absence, it ran higher when on his return he showed signal marks of favour to his new allies.

Accordingly the French determined to open a formal attack upon the English; and on March 3, 1417, the ambassadors of the French King laid before the Council a protest, which set forth that England was not a nation that ought to rank as equal to Italy, France, Germany, or Spain, which all contain many nations within themselves. The Con-

Protest of the French against the rights of the English nation. March 3, 1417.

[1] So Forester, writing to the English King, in Rymer, ix., 434: 'the Cardinal Cameracence, chief of the Nation of France and your special enemy'; so, too, letter of Appleton (*id.*, 438): 'Cardinalis Camerocensis nationem Anglicanam, a principio hujus Concilii capitali odio continuo persequens, ymmo nationis Anglicanæ nomen, ne vocem tanquam inter cæteras nationes haberet, totis conflatis viribus supprimere et prorsus extinguere'. See Finke, *Quellen und Forschungen*, 184.

stitutions of Benedict XII. had recognised in Christendom four nations, and an ecclesiastical assembly ought to abide by the Papal Constitutions. Those four nations were the Italian, German, French, and Spanish; and now that the Spanish nation had joined the Council, the English should be added to the German nation, with which they were counted in the Bull of Benedict XII. Neither according to its political nor its ecclesiastical divisions was England equal to the other four nations. It had been allowed to count as a nation before the coming of the Spaniards to keep up the number of nations to four. But now that the Council became a new Council, it ought to revise its former arrangements for the conduct of its business. The French therefore demanded either that the English should be added to the German nation; or if it was considered necessary to keep up a distinct English nation, then that the other nations should be divided according to their respective governments; or else that the method of voting by nations should be entirely done away.

Answer of the English. March 30, 1417.

While this protest was being read to the Council hisses and loud exclamations of dissent were heard. Sigismund interposed to prevent the reading from being finished, on the ground that it was entirely contrary to the customary procedure for anything to be read in the Council which had not previously been approved by the nations. Moreover, as Protector of the Council, he ordered that thenceforth nothing be brought forward in public sessions to the prejudice of the Council, especially such things as might hinder the union of the Church. But the English were not content with this vindication. They put forth their learning to answer the arguments of the French, and on March 30 handed into the Council a written reply, in which they styled themselves 'the ambassadors of the King of England and France,' and called the French King 'our adversary of France'. They proved, first, that the Constitution of Benedict XII. was not dealing with a division of Christendom into nations,

but solely with a method of arranging episcopal visitations and chapters of Benedictines. They retaliated with crushing statistics the charges of the French about the smallness of the English kingdom compared with France. Eight kingdoms were subject to the English crown,[1] not counting the Orcades and other islands to the number of sixty, which by themselves were as large as the kingdom of France. The realm of the English King contained 110 dioceses, that of the French King only 60. Britain was 800 miles long, or forty days' journey, and France was not generally supposed to have such a great extent. France had not more than 6000 parish churches, England had 52,000. England was converted by Joseph of Arimathea, France only by Dionysius the Areopagite. The proposal to put England and Germany together was entirely absurd, as these two nations comprised between them almost half Christendom. The natural, as well as canonical, division of nations was into northern, southern, eastern, and western; the English were at the head of the northern group, the Germans of the eastern, the Italians of the southern, and the French and Spanish were left to make up the western. The English on these grounds branded the arguments of the French as empty and frivolous, and protested against any change being made which might affect the position of the English nation. The protest was received by the Council, and no attempt was made to change the constitution of the nations. Indeed the procedure of the French can scarcely have been intended seriously, but was merely an affront to the English, and a step in the education of the French party in opposition to Sigismund's influence.

By the side of these altercations the great business of the

[1] Von der Hardt, v., 86: 'Attamen substantialiter præter Ducatus, terras ac insulas et dominia in numero copioso, sunt regna 8, videlicet Anglia, Scotia, Wallia, quæ tria majorem integrant Britanniam, regnum etiam de mari et in Hibernia, juxta Angliam, quatuor regna magna et notabilia, videlicet *Catholicum*, *Calense*, *Moraniæ et Menechatene*'. I cannot identify these last four names; but the text is obviously corrupt, and they probably represent divisions of Ireland.

Council, the deposition of Benedict XIII., was slowly proceeding. On November 5, 1416, after the arrival of the Aragonese ambassadors, Commissioners were appointed to receive evidence against Peter de Luna on the charges of breaking his promises and oaths, and throwing obstacles in the way of the union of the Church. So quickly did the Commissioners do their work that on November 28 a citation was issued to Benedict to appear personally at Constance within seventy days after receiving the summons. Two Benedictine monks were sent to serve the citation. They made their way to Peniscola, and were received by Benedict's nephew with 200 armed men, who escorted them into Benedict's presence on January 22, 1417. The old man looked at the black monks as they approached, and said, 'Here come the crows of the Council'. 'Yes,' was the muttered answer, 'crows gather round a dead body.' Benedict listened to the reading of the citation, uttering from time to time indignant exclamations, 'That is not true,' 'They lie'. He repeated his old proposals—that a new Council should be summoned, and that he should elect the new Pope. He haughtily asserted that he was right and that the Council was wrong. Grasping the arm of his chair, he repeated, 'This is the ark of Noah'. The determination of Benedict XIII. was as unbroken as ever; the world might abandon him, but he would remain true to himself and his dignity.

Citation of Benedict XIII. Jan., 1417.

On March 10 the Council received the account of their ambassadors to Benedict XIII., and on April 1 declared him guilty of contumacy. Commissioners were appointed to examine the charges against him and hear witnesses. But final sentence could not be passed till the union of the Spanish kingdoms with the Council had been accomplished, and this formal act was again made the occasion of raising serious questions. The ambassadors of Castile only arrived in Constance on March 29; but Castile was not very firm in its allegiance to the Council, and its envoys seem will-

Demand of Castile for a settlement of the preliminaries for a Papal election. March 30, 1417.

ingly to have lent themselves to the projects of the Curial party. The English suspected Peter d'Ailly of getting hold of them for his own purposes, and using the incorporation of Castile as the means of accomplishing his plan of identifying the French nation with the party of the Cardinals. At all events, the Castilians declared themselves on the side of the Curial party, and demanded as a condition of their incorporation with the Council that the preliminaries of a new Papal election should be settled.[1]

Question of the procedure of the Council.

This demand raised at once a question that had long been simmering. The Council had met for the threefold purpose of restoring the unity of the Church, purging it from heresy, and reforming it in head and members. In the deposition of the three contending Popes and the condemnation of the opinions of Wyclif and Hus there had been practical unanimity; but the question of reform was likely to lead to greater differences of opinion, and the proceedings of the Reform Commission showed the difficulties which were in the way. Men were not agreed whether the reformation should be dealt with in a radical or a conservative spirit; if it were to be done radically, it must be done by the Council before the election of a new Pope; if it were to be done tenderly, a Pope must first be elected to look after the interests of the Papacy and the Curia. The circumstances attending the opening of the Council had created a precedent for approaching burning questions in the technical form of discussing which should be undertaken first. John XXIII. was defeated on the question of precedence between the cause of union and the cause of faith; when the Council decided to undertake the union of the Church before discussing the heresies of Hus, the fate of John was practically decided. In the first flush of the Council's triumph over the Pope the cause of reform seemed to have a promising future; but the absence of

[1] We are justified in inferring that this was the doing of D'Ailly from his sermon preached on Whitsunday, May 30, arguing in favour of the course proposed by the Castilians. Hardt, iv., 1329.

Sigismund, the long period of inactivity, and the growing heat of national jealousies afforded an opportunity to the Curial party which they were not slow to use. The proceedings relative to the deposition of John warned the Cardinals of their danger if a revolutionary spirit were to prevail, and during Sigismund's absence the Cardinals drew closely together, and obtained a powerful influence over the Council. They knew that they could count on the allegiance of the Italian nation, and their policy was to take advantage of any disunion in the ranks of the other three nations. Such an opportunity had been afforded by the discontent of a section of the French nation at the proceedings about Jean Petit, and still more by the national animosity between the French and English, which had been increased by Sigismund's political change. The incorporation of the Spanish kingdoms afforded the Curial party a chance of trying their strength. On the incorporation of Aragon they raised the question of the constitution of the Council; next on the incorporation of Castile they raised the question of the Council's business. This they did in the recognised form of a discussion about priority of procedure. Ought not one point to be finished before another was undertaken? Ought not the unity of the Church to be definitely restored by a new election before the more doubtful subject of reform was taken in hand? This was the point which the Castilians were induced to raise, and their request brought to a crisis a number of conflicting opinions which weighed differently with different nations and classes in the Council.

Parties in the Council.

First of all, there were strong political differences which Sigismund's alliance with England brought prominently into the foreground at Constance. The French regarded Sigismund with suspicion after his political change. Yet during the vacancy of the Papacy Sigismund was sure to be the most powerful person in the Council: he was its Protector; it was in his hands; he could bring pressure to bear upon it at his will. The French began to doubt whether it was wise to help the English and

Germans, whom they regarded as their national foes, to arrange the condition of the future Pope. The Schism had arisen from the influence exercised by France over the Papacy; and France had only laid aside her claims because they were a source of embarrassment rather than of profit. Yet France could not allow her influence to pass to Germany, and did not wish to prolong a Council which might again establish the Imperial supremacy in Christendom, especially when the Emperor was in close alliance with England. The forthcoming Papal election would be an event of considerable political importance, and Sigismund must not be allowed to influence it for his own purposes. To these political reasons were added considerations arising directly from the question of reform itself. Men discovered that it was not a matter to be undertaken lightly, and that declamations against abuses were not easily converted into schemes of redress. In the foreground of Papal abuses were the exaction of annates and the collation to benefices; but an attempt to abolish annates aroused the deepest apprehension of the Cardinals and Curia, who asked how they were to be maintained without them. Similarly the attack on the Papal collations to benefices alarmed the Universities, whose graduates found that the claims of learning were more liberally recognised by the Popes than by Ordinaries immersed in official business. The University of Paris had had experience of this truth during the period of withdrawal of obedience from Benedict XIII.; it had complained, and had been met with desultory promises. Many members of the academic party thought that a reform would be more tenderly accomplished after the election of a Pope who would advocate his own cause.

Moreover, there was much plausibility in the cry that another matter ought not to be undertaken till the main object of the Council was accomplished. It had decided to undertake first the cause of unity. It had advanced so far as to get rid of the rival claimants; why should it hesitate to accomplish its work, and confer on the Church one un-

doubted head? Delay was fraught with danger; there was at present a unanimity which might soon be destroyed. The Council had already sat so long as to weary the patience of those who were still detained at Constance. Growing weariness and disputes about the reformation question might make the Council dwindle entirely away before the Papal elections were decided, and so all might still be left in doubt, and a schism worse than the first again desolate Christendom. In the disturbed state of Europe war might break out in the neighbourhood, and the Council be broken up by force, or be deprived suddenly of supplies. It was a serious risk to keep the important matter of the new election undecided in the face of all the contingencies that might happen.

There was a good deal of force in these arguments of temporary expediency—enough to impress the waverers; but the real question was whether the reformation of the Church was to be seriously undertaken or not. Sigismund sincerely desired it; the party of the Curia were determined to resist by all means in their power. All depended on the success of either side in gaining adherents. Sigismund was allied with Henry V. of England, and was sure of the co-operation of the English nation. Henry V. kept an observant watch on affairs at Constance, sent his instructions to the five bishops who were at the head of the English nation, and commanded that all his liegemen should follow the directions of the bishops, or else leave Constance under penalty of forfeiture of all their goods.[1]

Change of attitude of the French nation.

Perhaps this very resoluteness of the English and Germans made it easy for the Curial party to win over the French. The alliance of England and Germany was adverse to the interests of France; why should France support it in the Council? Under the name of a reform in the Church, the Papacy might be brought under German influence, might be turned into a

[1] Letter to the bishops, dated July 18, 1417, in Rymer, ix., 466.

political instrument against France. We can only guess at these causes for the adhesion of France to the Curial party, which we find an accomplished fact within a few months after the return of Sigismund. The records of the Council deal only with its sessions and its congregations; we know little of the proceedings within the separate nations, and have nothing save general considerations to guide us in this matter.

It is, however, noticeable that the most important man amongst the French was also the most important man amongst the Cardinals, and Peter d'Ailly seems to have been the means of winning over the French nation to the side of the Curial party. It is true that so late as November, 1416, D'Ailly had pressed for a reform of the Church, which he declared was a matter concerning the faith, and not to be considered separately. But D'Ailly had never been very famous for consistency, and had shown a capacity for turning with the tide, and conciliating opposing interests. He had accepted from Benedict XIII. the bishopric of Cambrai, without deserting the party of the University of Paris; he had received from the Pope the Cardinal's hat, without ceasing to be a royal ambassador in opposition to the Pope. He had been one of the most manful upholders of the right of the Council to proceed against John XXIII., yet had protested against the action of the Council in asserting its superiority to the Pope. He had pressed for reform before a Papal election, but had no difficulty in assuring himself that reform would be more safely accomplished under the Papal presidency. In the case of Germany and England the influence of their kings was strong enough to keep the nations united in their policy, whatever individual difference of opinion may have existed in their ranks. France had no such head; it would have been difficult for the king —even if his policy had been decided—to enforce unanimity on the representatives of the French nation; as it was, he had no interest to do so. The influence of the University of Paris, which had so long been predominant in matters

ecclesiastical, was now broken. The affair of Jean Petit had ended in the defeat of Gerson and the purely academic party, and Gerson's heat in this matter had ruined his influence. D'Ailly's position as a Cardinal led him to grow more and more conservative in the matter of reform, and the national hostility of France against Germany and England enabled him to bring the French nation to join in opposition to their revolutionary schemes.

Disturbance at Constance about the order of business. April—June, 1417.

In this state of parties the Castilians were induced to raise the question which was to decide the scope of the future activity of the Council; and the Cardinals strained every nerve to give a decisive proof of their strength. Besides the demand for a settlement of the preliminaries of a new Papal election, the Castilians formally asked for a guarantee of freedom to the Council, and the French seized upon this as an occasion to harass Sigismund, by pressing for a more ample form of safe-conduct. The Cardinals made a formal declaration that they had enjoyed perfect freedom, save in their assent to the decree forbidding the election of a Pope without the consent of the Council; this they had accepted, not through any pressure from Sigismund, but through fear of being branded as schismatics if they objected. Men were greatly alarmed at this equivocal utterance; it was a covert threat that unless the Cardinals were respected in future, they might cast a doubt upon the legitimacy of what had been done in the past.[1]

Accordingly, there was great confusion at Constance. Projects for the regulation of the new election were broached and rejected. Complaints were made about want of freedom; the city magistrates were asked to protect the Council; protests were lodged against unworthy treatment; and in the midst of the consequent confusion, the Cardinals urged the acceptance of their proposals about the new election as the one means of restoring peace. Sigismund,

[1] See letter of Pulka of June 16, in Firnhaber, p. 50.

however, managed to avert the entire dissolution of the Council. The Castilians were somewhat alarmed at the violence of the storm which they had raised; they were not really desirous of the failure of the Council, and Sigismund prevailed on them, on June 16, to withdraw their conditions and unite themselves to the Council.

Peace, however, was not restored. The Cardinals took advantage of some complaint that the judges of the Council had overstepped their powers. The French, Italian, and Spanish nations joined them in another attack upon Sigismund. They protested that they were not in full enjoyment of their liberty, and would take no further part in the Council, till they had ample guarantees for freedom. Sigismund naturally objected to grant a demand which cast a reflection upon the past proceedings of the Council. Again discord raged for some weeks, till both parties were weary, and agreed on July 11 to a compromise, which was proposed by the ambassadors of Savoy. Sigismund granted an ample assurance of the freedom of the Council on condition that the order of procedure was fixed to be, first, the deposition of Benedict XIII.; next, the reform of the Church in its head and in the Curia; thirdly, a new Papal election.[1] The Cardinals had so far triumphed as to reserve for the new Pope the reformation of the Church in its general features; Sigismund retained the important point that the reformation of the Papacy and of the Curia should precede the appointment of an undoubted Pope. The struggle ended for the time; but the compromise was of the nature of a truce, not of a lasting peace. Sigismund's position had been forced, and after giving way so far he might be driven to give way still more.

Compromise of July 11, 1417.

When in this way agreement had been again restored, the Council proceeded to the deposition of Benedict XIII. On July 26 he was again cited, declared contumacious,

[1] The document is in Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1677, etc. A full account of these struggles is to be found in Finke, *Forschungen und Quellen*, 198, etc.

and sentence was passed against him. It declared that, after examining witnesses, the Council pronounced him to be 'perjured and the cause of scandal to the universal Church, a favourer of inveterate schism, a hinderer of the union of the Church, a heretic who had wandered from the faith'; as such he was pronounced unworthy of all rank and dignity, deprived of all right in the Papacy and in the Roman Church, and lopped off like a dry bough from the Catholic Church. This sentence was published throughout Constance amid general rejoicings. The bells were rung, the citizens kept holiday, and Sigismund's heralds rode through the streets proclaiming the sentence.

Deposition of Benedict XIII. July 26, 1417.

Now that the union of the Church had been established, there remained for the Council only the question of reform, in accordance with the agreement made between Sigismund and the Cardinals. For this purpose the report of the Reform Commission was ready as a basis for discussion. The Commission had continued its labours till October 8, 1416, and had drawn up its conclusions in a tentative form. First came six chapters dealing with the reformation of the Curia, providing for the holding of future Councils with power to depose wicked and mischievous Popes, defining the duties of the Pope and his relations to the Cardinals, fixing the number of Cardinals at eighteen and prescribing their qualifications. On these points the Commissioners seem to have been agreed, as their conclusions were drawn up in the shape of decrees for the Council to pass. Then came a number of petitions for reform which were put into a shape that might admit of discussion. The report ended with a number of protocols which seem to contain a summary of suggestions and questions raised before the Commissioners.[1] But the points, taken all together, touch only on the removal of crying and obvious abuses — dispensations, exemptions, pluralities,

Report of the first Reform Commission. Oct. 8, 1416.

[1] There are two editions of this report, in Von der Hardt, i., 583, etc.; see the excellent criticism of Hübler, *Die Constanzer Reformation*, ii., etc.

appeals to Rome, simony, clerical concubinage, non-residence of bishops and the like. None of them affect the basis of the Papal system or try to alter the constitution of the Church where it was proved to be defective. They contain little which a provincial synod might not have decreed, nothing which was worthy of the labours of a General Council.

Appointment of a second Reform Commission.

Even this report, harmless as it was, was not taken into the Council's consideration. Such was the respect paid to technicalities, that a report drawn up before the incorporation of the Spanish kingdoms was not considered to be of sufficient authority for the newly-constituted assembly to discuss. It would have been possible to continue the Commission with the addition of Spanish representatives; but the Council wanted to gain time, and there was some plausibility in the objection that such a Commission would be unwieldy through its numbers. Accordingly, a new Commission of twenty-five doctors and prelates, five from each nation, was appointed to revise the work of their predecessors.[1] This they proceeded to do; and while they were busy with their labours, the Curial party had leisure to renew their attack upon the compromise which had so lately been accepted.

The Cardinals press for a Papal election. Sept. 9, 1417.

When once the prospect of a new Papal election was in view, it was natural that men should wish for its accomplishment. Many must have felt shocked in their inmost hearts at the anomalous state of things that existed in the Church. Many more were swayed by motives of self-interest, and felt that promotion was to be gained from a Pope, but nothing from the Council. All were wearied with their long stay in Constance, and wished to see a definite end to their labours. Moreover, the talk about a new election intensified national jealousy and suspicion. It was easy to raise an outcry that

[1] Their report is given in Von der Hardt, i., 650. It bears the heading 'Avisata in Reformatorio per xxv. prælates et doctores'. Hübler, p. 21, first pointed out the relation of this document to the preceding ones.

Sigismund was using the Council for his own purposes and meant to finish his design by securing his hold upon the Papacy, when he and the victorious Henry V. would be arbiters of the destinies of Europe.[1] The Cardinals had formed their party and had already made trial of their strength. They were sure of the allegiance of three of the five nations and determined to attack the position of the Germans and English by pressing for an immediate election to the Papacy. Accordingly, on September 9, the Cardinals presented to a general congregation a protest setting forth their readiness to proceed to the election of a Pope, lest harm ensue to the Church through their negligence; they professed that this should be done without prejudice to the cause of reformation.

Renewed disturbances at Constance. Sept. 9-11, 1417.

The reading of this protest was interrupted by loud cries, and Sigismund rose and left the cathedral, followed by the Patriarch of Antioch. Some one called out, 'Let the heretics go,' which galled Sigismund to the quick.[2] When he showed his anger some of the members of the Council professed fear for their personal safety. Rumours were spread that Sigismund was preparing to overawe the Council by armed force. The Castilians, who had never shown themselves much in earnest, and who were in strife with the Aragonese about precedence, took the opportunity of this alarm to leave Constance, but they had not proceeded farther than Steckborn when they were brought back by Sigismund's troops. So great was Sigismund's anger that he ordered the cathedral and the Bishop's palace to be closed against the Cardinals, so as to prevent their further deliberations. They held a meeting next day, sitting on the steps in the courtyard of the palace, and sent to the city magistrates and

[1] See Niem, in Von der Hardt, ii., 434: 'Multi de Italia hic existentes, in eodem concilio murmurabant inter se dicentes quod ipse dominus Rex Romanorum ficte ageret, necnon Papam ad ejus voluntatem hic eligi vellet ad hoc, ut sic ejus conditionem iaceret meliorem'.

[2] Shelstraten, in Von der Hardt, i., 921.

Frederick of Brandenburg to demand security and freedom. After some mediation the Cardinals were allowed to be present at a general congregation held the next day (September 11).

In this congregation the Cardinals presented and read a second protest against the action of the German nation couched in stronger language than the first. They said that they and three nations wished to proceed to the election of a Pope, and were hindered by the German nation and a few others. They washed their hands of all responsibility for the evils which might happen in consequence to the Church. They insisted that they had a majority of the nations, and that those who opposed them were merely the adherents of Sigismund, who were of no individual weight, as they had no weight apart from their own nation. They declared that they desired a reformation as much as did the Germans, but the first reformation needed was the remedy of the monstrous condition of a headless Church.[1] It is noticeable that the protest makes no mention of the English nation. Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, who had been their leader and who stood high in Sigismund's confidence, died on September 7; and the English seem at once to have fallen away from Sigismund's policy through sheer feebleness. They at once appointed deputies to confer with the Cardinals about the method to be pursued in a new election, and Sigismund was left to learn the fact from the Cardinals. When he refused to believe them, the Bishop of Lichfield was driven to confess the truth, but lamely added that nevertheless the English wished to follow the German nation. Sigismund was not unnaturally indignant with his traitorous allies, and loaded them with abuse.[2]

Renewed protest of the Cardinals. Sept. 11, 1417.

[1] 'Præterea si reformatio fienda est de deformatis, quæ major est aut esse potest in corpore deformitas quam carere capite et acephalum esse?' —Von der Hardt, i., 919.

[2] These facts have been brought to light by the Journal of Cardinal Filastre in Finke, 220.

After the reading of this protest there was renewed confusion. Again rumours were spread of the fierceness of Sigismund's wrath. At one time it was said that he intended to imprison all the Cardinals; then that he had consented to limit his fury to six of the ring-leaders. Next day the Cardinals appeared wearing their red hats, in token that they were ready, if need be, to suffer martyrdom. But they were well aware that they would not be put to that test, and knew that their organisation was everywhere working conversions. The Cardinals protested against the breach of national organisation caused by the existence of a party devoted to Sigismund; the Archbishop of Milan, the Cardinals Correr and Condulmier, returned to their national allegiance. All who did not belong to the English and German nations were now on the side of the Cardinals.

Diminution of Sigismund's party.

September 13 was devoted to the funeral rites of Robert Hallam, who had won respect by his boldness and straightforwardness, and all were desirous to do him honour. But on the next day the Germans appeared with an answer to the protest of the Cardinals; they indignantly cleared themselves of the charges of schism and heresy which their opponents had brought against them. If future schism was to be avoided, it could only be by a genuine reformation of the Roman Curia. The chair of the Pope needed cleansing before it was fit for a new occupant. The cause of the Schism was to be found in the self-seeking and carnal minds of the Cardinals, who could be no otherwise, so long as reservations, commendams, usurpations of ecclesiastical patronage, annates, simony, and all the abuses of the Papal law courts were allowed to go on unchecked.

Resistance of the Germans. Sept. 14, 1417.

The Germans had said their say, and Sigismund was still prepared to hold his own; but the ranks of his followers sensibly decreased, for his position had been rendered untenable by the desertion of the English nation. Hallam had a policy: his colleagues were opportunists. But it is difficult to suppose

Sigismund deserted by the English.

that they acted without permission from the English King. Probably Hallam was intrusted with a discretionary power, which he saw no reason for using, but which his colleagues were only too ready to employ. They offered themselves to the Cardinals as mediators with Sigismund and their offer was accepted. The possible need of mediation suggested to Henry V. a policy which he hoped would be creditable to England and would establish a claim upon the gratitude of a new Pope. Sigismund might have the glory of struggling for reform; Henry V. would enjoy the credit of proposing a compromise. So Henry Beaufort, his uncle, was judiciously sent on a mission which brought him into the neighbourhood of Constance. We are justified in assuming that he left England to bring the news of Henry's change of policy, to explain its reasons to Sigismund, and to co-operate with him for the purpose of giving a new direction to the joint policy of England and Germany. Henry V. was an ideal politician, as much as Sigismund, and had a project of a Crusade against the Turks as soon as the conquest of France had been achieved. Probably he was convinced that the dangers of continuing to demand an immediate reformation of the Church were too great to render a dogged obstinacy any longer desirable. He was profoundly orthodox, and may have become convinced that Sigismund's policy was dangerous. Anyhow, the question of reform did not affect England as closely as it affected Germany. The laws of England gave the Crown means of defending the rights of the English Church, which a strong king could use at his pleasure. The Council of Constance had now sat so long that little was to be hoped from its future activity. The treaty of Canterbury had brought no political advantage to England, for Sigismund pleaded the pressure of business at Constance as a reason why he could not help his English ally in the field.[1] Pro-

[1] See letter of August 4, 1417, in Caro, *Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismund's*, p. 128. Filastre, in Finke, 227, says of the English: 'Ad mandatum regis Anglie dimiserunt regem Romanorum'.

bably Henry thought it expedient that he and Sigismund should use their influence to secure a satisfactory election to the Papacy, rather than embitter ecclesiastical questions by a longer resistance to a majority who could not be quelled. Whatever were Henry's motives, the English nation deserted the cause of Sigismund, and the death of Robert Hallam hastened a change of front, which was being kept in reserve as a last manœuvre.

Sigismund driven to consent to a Papal election. October 2, 1417.

As soon as the German nation was left alone desertions gradually took place. Sigismund's party gradually dissolved; all who had been his personal adherents abandoned him and united themselves to their own nations. Even the German nation was no longer united. The Bishops of Riga and Chur, who stood high in Sigismund's confidence, promised their adhesion to the Cardinals on condition that the Pope when elected should stay at Constance with the Council till the work of reformation had been accomplished. It is said that they were won over by the promise of rich benefices, and they certainly were afterwards promoted.[1] Sigismund could hold out no longer, and early in October gave his consent to the election of a Pope, provided that an undertaking were given by the Council, that immediately after his election and before his coronation the work of reformation should be set on foot. But the Cardinals hesitated to give this guarantee and raised technical difficulties regarding its form. Meanwhile, as a sop to the reforming party, a decree was passed on October 9, embodying some few of the reforms on which there was a general agreement.

Reform decrees of October 9, 1417.

The decree of October 9 was the first fruits of the reform wrought at Constance. It begins with the famous decree *Frequens*,[2] which provided for the recurrence of General Councils. The next Council was to be held in seven years' time, and after that they were to follow

[1] MS. *Chronicle of Mainz*, dated 1440, in Hardt, iv., 1427.

[2] So called from its first words, 'Frequens generalium Conciliorum celebratio agri Dominici cultura est præcipua,' Hardt, iv., 1435.

at intervals of five years. This was the result of all the movement which the Schism had set on foot. The exceptional measure necessary to heal the Schism became established on the foundation of ancient usage; its revival was to prevent for the future the growth of evil customs in the Church and was to supply a sure means of slowly remedying those which already existed. Henceforth General Councils were to be restored to their primitive position in the organisation of the Church, and the Papal despotism was to be curbed by the creation of an ecclesiastical parliament. As a corollary to this proposition, it was decreed that in case of schism a Council might convoke itself at any time. A few of the most crying grievances of the clergy were redressed by enactments that the Pope should not translate prelates against their will, nor reserve to his own use the possessions of clergy on their death, nor the procurations due at visitations.

Compromise effected by the Bishop of Winchester. Oct., 1417.

The passing of this decree did not do much to clear the way for a settlement of Sigismund's demand of a guarantee for future reform. After much negotiation about the form which such a guarantee should take, the Cardinals finally said that they could not bind the future Pope. The Cardinals were anxious to know what part they were to have in the election. Though they could not hope to have the exclusive right, yet they were resolved not to be reduced to the level of deputies of their respective nations, and before giving any guarantee they wished to secure their own position. Again everything was in confusion at Constance till it was suggested by the English to the Cardinals that there was close at hand an influential prelate who might be called in to mediate. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, half-brother of Henry IV. of England, and powerful in English politics, was at that time at Ulm, ostensibly on his way as a pilgrim to the Holy Land. He was accordingly summoned to Constance, where he

was welcomed by the King and Cardinals,[1] and by his mediation an agreement was at last arranged between the contending parties. It provided that a guarantee for carrying out the reformation after the election of the Pope should be embodied in a decree of the Council; that those points contained in the report of the Reform Commissioners concerning which all the nations were agreed, should be laid before the Council for its approval; and that Commissioners should be appointed to determine the method of the new Papal election. The influence of England was used to make the best terms possible between the Germans, who were driven to give way, and the victorious Cardinals, whose obstinacy increased with their success.

The Commissioners were appointed on October 11, and had some difficulty in agreeing on a mode of election, which should regard the claims of the Cardinals and at the same time satisfy the national feeling in the Council. The Germans proposed that each nation should appoint fifteen electors; and as there were fifteen Italian Cardinals they should represent the Italian nation. The scheme proposed by the French was ultimately adopted.

Decrees of October 30, 1417.

On October 30 the final result of this protracted struggle was embodied in decrees. It was enacted that the future Pope, with the Council or with deputies of the several nations, should reform the Church in its head and in the Roman Curia, dealing with eighteen specified points which had been agreed to by the Reform Commission; after the election of deputies for this object, the other members of the Council might retire. It was further decreed that the election of the Pope be made by the Cardinals and six deputies to be elected by each nation

[1] The date of his arrival is not certain. Walsingham (ed. Riley), ii., 319, says: 'Ultima die mensis Octobris Episcopus Wintonensis accessit ad Concilium'. Schelstraten, in Hardt, iv., 1447, says: 'Iverant illi obviam rex et tres Cardinales'; and Tschudi, ii., 82, says that Sigismund left Constance for a journey into the Swiss country on Oct. 21, and returned on Nov. 6. Filastre, in Finke, 227, does not give a date, but puts Beaufort's arrival before Oct. 9. We may assume that he came early in October.

within ten days: two-thirds of the Cardinals and two-thirds of the deputies of each nation were to agree before an election could be made.

These decrees show at a glance how completely the reforming party had been worsted, and the enthusiasm for reform was spent. Step by step the Cardinals had succeeded in limiting the sphere of the Council's activity. In July the aim of the Council had been defined as the reformation of the Pope and Curia before a Papal election, and after it the general reformation of the Church. By the end of October the reformation of the Church was dropped entirely, and all that the Council wished to do was to help the new Pope to reform his office and Curia, and that not unreservedly, but simply in eighteen specified points to which the zeal of the Council and the labours of the Reform Commission had ultimately dwindled.

In fact, as soon as a Papal election became possible, it swallowed up all other considerations and absorbed all attention. Men who had spent three long years at Constance wished to see the outward and visible sign of the work that they had done to reunite the Church; they wished to see a Pope appointed who might recognise and requite their zeal. No sooner were the decrees passed than preparations for the election were busily pressed. In the Kaufhaus of Constance chambers were constructed for the fifty-three members of the Conclave—twenty-three Cardinals and thirty electors chosen by the five nations. Sigismund took oath to protect the Conclave; guards and officers were appointed to provide for its safety, and every customary formality was carefully observed. On the afternoon of November 8, the Cardinals and electors assembled in the Bishop's palace. They were met outside by Sigismund, who dismounted from his horse, took each by the hand and greeted him kindly. The solemnity of the occasion wiped out all traces of former rivalries, and tears were shed at the sight of this restored unanimity. The Münster-platz was filled with a kneeling crowd, amongst

Beginning of the Conclave. Nov. 8, 1417.

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whom knelt Sigismund. The doors of the cathedral were thrown open, and the Patriarch of Antioch surrounded by the clergy advanced and prayed and gave the benediction. All rose from their knees and a procession of the electors was formed. Sigismund rode first, and when all had entered the Conclave, they laid their hands in his and swore to make a true and honest choice. With a few words of friendly exhortation, Sigismund left them, and the Conclave was closed.

Proceedings of the Conclave. Nov. 9-10, 1417.

Next day, November 9, was spent in settling the method of voting, about which there was some difference of opinion. The Cardinals wished to retain the customary method of voting by means of papers which were placed on the altar, and then submitted to scrutiny; others were desirous of adopting more open, and, as they thought, simpler methods. At last, however, the Cardinals prevailed; but it was not till the morning of November 10 that any votes were taken. The first scrutiny was indecisive, and nothing was done on that day. But next morning when the votes were counted it was found that four Cardinals stood distinctly ahead of all others —the Cardinals of Ostia, Venice, Saluzzo, and Colonna. Of these Colonna alone received votes from every nation, and in two nations, the Italian and English, possessed the requisite majority. Indeed the English voted for him alone, and doubtless their example produced a great impression.

Election of Oddo Colonna. Nov. 11, 1417.

Among the Cardinals, Oddo Colonna was marked out as a Roman of noble family, a man who had remained neutral during the struggles which rent the Council, unobjectionable on every ground, and personally acceptable both to Henry V. and Sigismund. He was not, however, the candidate most favoured by the Cardinals themselves, though many hastened to accede to him when they saw that opinion was strongly inclining in his favour. On a second scrutiny he received fifteen votes from the Cardinals, and had a two-thirds majority in every

nation. For a time there was a pause. Then several Cardinals left the room so as to delay the election. Only the Cardinals of S. Marco and De Foix remained talking with one another. They were not sure what their absent colleagues might do; they feared lest they might return in a body and accede to Colonna. At last the Cardinal of S. Marco spoke out, 'To finish this matter and unite the Church we two accede to Cardinal Colonna'. The necessary majority was now secured. The electors, according to custom, placed Colonna on the altar, kissed his feet, and chanted the 'Te Deum'. The cry was raised to those outside, 'We have a Pope, Oddo Colonna,' and the news spread fast through the city. It was not yet midday when it reached Sigismund, who, forgetful of all dignity, hastened in his joy to the Conclave, thanked the electors for their worthy choice, and, prostrating himself before the new Pope, humbly kissed his feet. A solemn procession was formed to the cathedral. The new Pope, who took the name of Martin V. because it was S. Martin's day, mounted on horseback, while Sigismund held his bridle on the right, Frederick of Brandenburg on the left. Again he was placed on the altar in the cathedral, amid a solemn service of thanksgiving. Then he retired to the Bishop's palace, which was thenceforward his abode.

The election of Oddo Colonna was one which gave universal satisfaction, and Sigismund's unrestrained manifestations of delight show that he regarded it with unfeigned self-congratulation. Politically, he had gained an adherent where he feared that he might have elevated a foe. Colonna was not the candidate of the French party, and there was nothing more to fear from their influence over the Council. Similarly, on grounds that affected the Papacy, its position in Italy, and the recovery of the patrimony of the Church, Colonna, as a member of the most powerful Roman family, seemed likely to restore the Papal prestige. Moreover, he gave hopes of favouring the cause of the reformation. He was known as the poorest and simplest among the Car-

dinals,[1] and was a man of genial kindly nature, who had never shown any capacity for intrigue.[2] No one could object to his election; for he had held himself aloof from all the quarrels which had convulsed the Council, had made no enemies, and was regarded as a moderate and sensible man. He was the choice of the nations, not of the Cardinals; and his election was a testimony to the general desire to reunite the Church under a Pope who could not be claimed as a partisan by any of the factions which had arisen in the Council.

[1] Windeck, in Mencken, i., 1117, 'er der armest und einfaltigiste Cardinal were unter allen Cardinalen die zu Costenz dazumale warent'.

[2] Leon. Aret. in Mur., xix.: 'Vir antea nequaquam sagax existimatus sed benignus'.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARTIN V. AND THE REFORMATION AT CONSTANCE—END OF THE COUNCIL.

1417—1418.

WHATEVER hopes had been entertained that Martin V. might favour the work of reformation received a shock from his first pontifical act. Instead of regarding his position as somewhat exceptional, instead of awaiting the results of further deliberation of the Council, he followed the custom of his predecessor, and on the day after his election approved and edited the rules of the Papal Chancery. The moment that the officials of the Curia had obtained a head, they felt themselves strong enough to fight for the abuses on which they throve. The Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinal of Ostia, who had published the Chancery regulations of John XXIII., hastened to lay them before Martin V., with a demand that he should maintain the rights of his office; and the new Pope at once complied. This act of Martin V. struck at the root of the reforming efforts of the Council. The abuses, which after long deliberation had been selected as the most crying, were organised and protected in the rules of the Papal Chancery.

Martin V. confirms the rules of the Papal Chancery issued by John XXIII.

The Chancery itself was a necessary branch of the administrative department of the Papacy, and was concerned with the care of the Papal archives, and the preparation and execution of all the official documents of the Pope. Such a department necessarily

Rules of the Papal Chancery.

had rules, and these rules were revised and republished by each Pope on his accession. They regulated the despatch of business by the Chancery, and during the period of the Avignonese Papacy had been largely increased so as to cover the growth of the system of Papal reservations and the extension of the Papal jurisdiction.[1] John XXII. and Benedict XII. greatly enlarged their scope, but the earliest edition of them that we possess is that of John XXIII., which Martin V. now confirmed in its integrity. The rules thus established as part of the constitution of the Church reserved to the Pope all the chief dignities in cathedral, collegiate and conventual churches provided for the issue of expectative graces, or promises of next appointment to benefices, and fixed the payments due for such grants. They regulated Papal dispensations from ecclesiastical disqualifications, from residence at benefices, from the need of ordination by holders of benefices who were employed in the service of the Curia or in study. They provided for pluralities, indulgences, and the conduct of appeals before the Curia. In short, they set forth the system by which the Papacy had managed to divert to itself the revenues of the Church; they were the code on which rested the abuses of the Papal power which the Council hoped to eradicate.

Coronation of Martin V. Nov. 21, 1417.

Perhaps this act of Martin V. was not at once divulged, as the Chancery regulations were not formally published till February 26, 1418. If it was known, men did not in their first flush of joy appreciate its full significance. It might be urged that the act was merely formal, that a Pope must have a Chancery, and the Chancery must have its rules; their publication in no way hindered their subsequent reformation. However that might be, nothing disturbed the harmony at Constance. On November 13 Martin V., who was only a Cardinal-deacon, was ordained priest, and next

[1] See, for further details, Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*, iv., 488, etc.

day was consecrated bishop. The next few days were spent in receiving homage from all the clergy and nobles in Constance. On November 21 all was ready for the Pope's coronation, which was carried out with great splendour. At midnight he was anointed in the cathedral. At eight in the morning the coronation took place on a raised platform in the courtyard of the Bishop's palace. The tow was burned before the Pope, with the admonition, 'Sic transit gloria mundi'. Then Martin V. mounted a horse and went in stately procession through the town, Sigismund and Frederick of Brandenburg holding the reins of his steed. The Jews met him, according to custom, bearing the volume of the law, and begging him to confirm their privileges. Martin, perhaps not at once understanding the ceremony, refused the volume; but Sigismund took it and said: 'The law of Moses is just and good, nor do we reject it, but you do not keep it as you ought'. Then he gave them back the volume, and Martin, who had now his cue, said: 'Almighty God remove the veil from your eyes, and make you see the light of everlasting life'.[1] It is impossible not to feel that Sigismund was excellently fitted to discharge the duties of a Pope with punctilious decorum.

Difficulties in the way of reform.

It would seem that Sigismund was so satisfied with the election of Martin V. that he did not raise the question of proceeding with the reformation before the coronation of the Pope, according to the agreement which he had made with the Cardinals. But immediately after the coronation a new Reform Commission was formed of six Cardinals and as many deputies from each nation. The Commissioners did not, however, proceed rapidly with their work. The old difficulties at once revived. The Germans and the French prelates wished to abolish Papal provisions; the representatives of the

[1] Both Dacher (in Von der Hardt, iv., 1491) and Reichenthal, p. 43, agree in this account, though others represent Martin as taking the book himself from the Jews.

French Universities joined with the Italians and Spaniards to maintain in their own interests the rights of the Pope. The English, who by the statutes against Provisors had settled the matter for themselves, were indifferent. The previous quarrels of the nations in the Council were a hindrance to joint action. The French besought Sigismund to use his influence to further the reformation. Sigismund answered: 'When I was urgent that the reformation should be undertaken before the election of a Pope, you would not consent. Now we have a Pope; go to him, for I no longer have the same interest in the matter as I had before.'[1] Indeed, Sigismund seems to have given up reform as hopeless, and resolved to make the best terms he could for himself. On January 23, 1418, he publicly received at the hands of the Pope a formal recognition of his position as King of the Romans, and a few days afterwards obtained a grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of three German provinces, as a recompense for the expenses which he had incurred in the Council's behalf.

In this state of collision of interests and general lethargy and weariness, it became clear that nothing could be done in the way of a common scheme of reform. The Germans were the first to recognise this, and presented to the Pope in January, 1418, a series of articles of reformation founded on the labours of the previous Commission. A clamour for reform was directed to the Pope; and a squib published by a Spaniard, headed 'A Mass for Simony,'[2] helped to warn Martin V. that he must in some way declare himself, for Benedict XIII. still had adherents. So far Martin V. had refused to state his intentions. He saw that his wisest policy was to allow the reforming party to involve themselves in

Martin V.'s programme of reform. Jan., 1418.

[1] Gobelinus, in Von der Hardt, iv., 1503.

[2] This curious production is given in Von der Hardt, iv., 1505. At the end comes the warning: 'Jam fumus simoniæ in cælum ascendit: et jam divina justicia provocata est in tantum, quod, si iste Papa non ponit remedium super hoc, sciat se percutiendum plaga magna et in brevi casurum'.

difficulties and to bide his time. When asked to declare his opinion, he answered with the utmost courtesy that if the nations agreed on any point, he was desirous to do what he could for the reformation. At last he judged it prudent to speak, and on January 18, 1418, put forward the Papal idea of reform in the shape of an answer to the points set forward in the decree of October 30, which had been the guarantee on which the Germans consented to the election of a Pope. On all the points therein contained the Pope agreed to some slight surrender of his prerogatives in favour of the Ordinaries; but one point, the definition of the 'causes for which a Pope could be admonished or deposed,' was dismissed with the remark, 'It does not seem good to us, as it did not to several nations, that on this point anything new should be determined or decreed'. The programme of the Pope was referred to the nations for their opinion. Again there were the old difficulties. The nations could not agree on the amendments which they wished to make. Martin V. could now urge that he had done his part, and that the obstacles arose from the want of concord among the several nations. He kept pressing them to quicken their deliberations;[1] and while he awaited their decision he continued to exercise the old powers of the Papacy, and made numerous grants in expectancy, which no doubt gave a practical proof to many that the Papal system after all had its advantages.

Embassy of the Greeks. Feb., 1418.

It was natural that the Council, which was before enfeebled by its own divisions, should find itself growing still feebler before a Pope. The influence of the Papal office was strong over men's imaginations. The joy felt throughout Europe at the termination of the Schism was reflected among the Fathers at Constance. The ambassadors who came to congratulate the new Pope on his

[1] Letter of Pulka, dated Feb. 10: 'Instat apud nationem nostram quatenus super advisamenta reformationis quæ alias ipse dedit, concludat et sibi respondeat, ut ad alia procedi valeat, et concilium celeriter concludi'. Firnhaber, 66.

accession could not fail to deepen the impression of his importance. The death of Gregory XII. on October 18, 1417, was an additional security for Martin V.'s position. Moreover, the prestige of the Pope was increased by the arrival in Constance on February 19 of an embassy from the Greek Emperor, headed by the Archbishop of Kief, to negotiate for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. The luckless Greeks saw themselves day by day more and more helpless to resist the invading Turks, and their leaders deemed it politic to remove by union with the Latin Church the religious differences which had done much to sunder the East and West. During the Schism it had been hopeless to prosecute their scheme, as reconciliation with one Pope would only have won for them the hostility of the obedience of his rival. But their desire was known; and soon after the Council of Pisa, Gerson, preaching before the French King, urged the convocation of another Council in three years' time, that the Greeks might then appear and negotiate for their union with Western Christendom.[1] So soon as the Council of Constance had succeeded in establishing internal unity in the Latin Church, the Greek envoys made their appearance. They were honourably received by Sigismund, who rode out to meet them. With wondering eyes the Latin prelates gazed on the Greek ecclesiastics, whose long black hair flowed down their shoulders, who wore long beards, and had nothing but the tonsure to mark their priestly office. During their stay in Constance the Greeks practised their own ritual, and were courteously treated by the Council; but it does not appear that much was done towards the object which they had in view. The distracted state of opinion in Constance was not calculated to inspire them with much confidence.[2] The Council did not last long enough for the question to be seriously discussed. We find,

[1] Gerson, *Op.*, ii., 142.

[2] Dacher, in Von der Hardt, iv., 1512. 'Man meinte wäre die Reformation für sich gegangen, sie hätten Weg und Sachen funden dass sie auch völlig Christen worden wären.'

however, that friendly relations were established between Martin V. and the Greek Emperor, for Martin gave his consent to a project of intermarriage between the Emperor's sons and Latin ladies.[1]

Questions of Petit and Falkenberg.

It was natural for Martin V. to urge the rapid dissolution of the Council. So long as it remained sitting unpleasant questions were sure to be forced upon him. The condemnation of Jean Petit, which had been deferred by the Council, was now laid before the Pope for his decision, and there was added to it another question of like character. A Dominican friar, John of Falkenberg, had written a libel against the King of Poland at the instigation of his enemies, the Teutonic Knights. This libel asserted that the King of Poland and his people were only worthy of the hatred of all Christian men, and ought to be exterminated like pagans. It was brought before the Commissioners in Matters of Faith early in 1417, was by them condemned and ordered to be burned; but its formal condemnation was left for the new Pope. Thus the Poles and the French alike called on Martin to condemn their enemies; but Martin was too politic to wish to offend either the Duke of Burgundy or the Teutonic Knights. The French and the Poles published a protest setting forth the scandals that would be caused by any refusal of justice. When this produced no effect, the Poles intimated their intention of appealing to a future Council. Martin V. thought it desirable to check, if possible, this dangerous privilege, and in a consistory on March 10 promulgated a constitution which asserted: 'No one may appeal from the supreme judge, that is, the apostolic seat or the Roman Pontiff, Vicar on earth of Jesus Christ, or may decline his authority in matters of faith'. To this constitution the Poles determined to pay no heed, and Gerson pointed out that it was destructive to the

[1] His letter, dated Constance, April 6, 1418, is given in Raynaldus, sub anno no. 17. The Emperor had asked this 'pro faciliori et magis accommodo reductionis antiquæ pacis medio et reconciliatione mutua cunctarum Christum colentium religionum'.

whole theory on which the Councils of Pisa and Constance rested their authority.[1] It was indeed clear that if the Council remained sitting and this question were discussed, a collision between the Pope and the Council would be inevitable.

But Martin V. knew before he took this step that the days of the Council were numbered, and that the majority of those in Constance were anxiously awaiting its end. He had made an agreement to accept a few general reforms in the Church, and to remedy for each nation some of the abuses of which they complained. He also endorsed the proceedings of the Council by issuing on Feb. 22 a Bull against the errors of Wyclif and Hus, and drew up twenty-four articles, which were sent to Bohemia as the Council's prescription for ending the religious strife. They were not couched in conciliatory language, and matters had gone too far for reconciliation; but they expressed Martin's acquiescence in what had been done.

Reform statutes of March 21, 1418.

The settlement of the reformation question expresses the weariness and incompetence of the Council. There were no men of sufficient statesmanship to unite the contending elements of which it was composed, and direct them to a common end. The desire for reformation with which the Council opened had so lost its force in the collision of national interests that even the restricted programme embodied in the decree of October 30, 1417, was found to be more than could be accomplished. After much aimless discussion, it was finally agreed that a synodal decree should be passed about a few of these eighteen points on which there was tolerable unanimity, and that all other questions should be left for the Pope to settle with the several nations according to their grievances. On March 21 the Council approved of statutes in which the Pope withdrew exemptions and incorporations granted since the

[1] Gerson, *Tractatus quomodo et an liceat in causis fidei a summo Pontifice appellare seu ejus judicium declinare*, Op., ii., 303. It was written after the dissolution of the Council, during Gerson's exile.

death of Gregory XI.; abandoned the Papal claims to ecclesiastical revenues during vacancies; condemned simony; withdrew dispensations from discharging the duties of ecclesiastical offices while receiving their revenues; promised not to impose tenths except for a real necessity, nor specially in any kingdom or province without consulting its bishops; and enjoined greater regularity in clerical dress and demeanour.

Concordats with the separate nations.

The rest of the eighteen points raised by the decree of October 30, 1417, were settled by separate agreements or concordats with the different nations. In the session of March 21, 1418, the Council gave its approbation to these concordats, and solemnly declared that the synodal decrees then passed, together with the concordats, fulfilled the requirements of the decree of October 30.[1] The Council as a whole accepted the decrees, the nations separately accepted the concordats; then the Council declared that these two together fulfilled the guarantee on the strength of which a Papal election had been agreed to. It is true that the concordats themselves had not yet been definitely accepted, but it would seem that they had been substantially agreed to. The difficulties in the way of their publication lay rather in the fact that the nations could not agree in themselves than that the Curia raised any objections. The German and French concordats were signed on April 15, the English not till July 12. It is remarkable that, while England and Germany made concordats each for themselves, dealing with special points in

[1] 'Decernimus et declaramus, sacro approbante concilio, per decreta, statuta et ordinata, tam lecta in præsenti sessione, quam concordata cum singulis nationibus ejusdem concilii . . . huic sacro concilio super articulis contentis in decreto super fienda reformatione die Sabbati, 30 mensis Octobris proxime præteriti promulgato, fuisse et esse jam satisfactum.'—Von der Hardt, iv., 1540. The 'placet' of the Council was given in the following form: 'De mandato nationum respondeo quod placent nationibus decreta recitata. Et cuilibet nationi placet concordia cum ipsa per Dominum nostrum facta. Et per præmissa fatentur decreto etiam jam esse satisfactum. Non intendentes propterea quod concordata cum una natione in aliquo alteri nationi afferant præjudicium.'—Von der Hardt, *ibid.*

their relations towards the Roman Church, the three Romance peoples held together; and what is known as the French concordat represents the alliance which the last days of the Council had brought about, and which was the cause of the triumph of the Curia.[1] The Spanish and Italian nations had asked for reforms which did not materially affect the Papal primacy; by answering their requests in common with those of the French, the special grant of certain remissions of annates to the French nation only would be regarded as a more signal mark of favour.

Contents of the concordats.

The questions dealt with in the concordats were not of much importance. They consisted chiefly of such points of the reform programme of Martin V. as each nation thought to be necessary or desirable for its own good. The English concordat was very short, and provided only for the proper organisation of the Cardinal College, the due admission of Englishmen to office in the Curia, the check of Papal indulgences, of unions of benefices and dispensations from canonical disabilities, and the somewhat curious revocation of permissions granted to bishops of wearing any part of the pontifical attire. It is clear that on all essential points the English preferred to rest on their own national laws rather than entrust themselves to grants and privileges given by the Pope. The English concordat is entirely trivial, but is in the form of a perpetual grant or charter. The other two were only a temporary compromise, restricted in their operation to five years. The payment of annates was reluctantly submitted to, with some restrictions,

[1] It was generally assumed that the Spanish and Italian concordats had been lost; but Hübler, *Die Constanzer Reformation und die Concordate von* 1418, p. 47, calls attention to the fact that the phraseology of the French concordat covers the other nations as well. Thus, on the subject of the 'Annates' the concordat (Von der Hardt, iv., 1574) runs. 'Quæ omnia in præsenti capitulo contenta locum habeant pro tota Gallica natione'; and still more clearly the clause about provisions recognises all the three nations (*ibid.*, 1572) · 'De abbatiis . . . quarum fructus, secundum taxationem decimæ, cc librarum Turonensium parvorum, in Italia vero et Hispania lx librarum Turonensium parvorum valorem annuum non excedant, fiant confirmationes aut provisiones canonicæ per illos ad quos alias pertinet'.

by the Germans and the French as a necessary means, under existing circumstances, of supplying the Pope with revenues. But in a few years' time, when he was established in Rome and had won back the possessions of the Roman Church, he might fairly be required to live off his own. They bargained that in five years the question of annates should be again considered; and the Pope, being obliged to give way, did so on condition that the grants which he was making on other points should be similarly limited in time. As several of these grants concerned questions of organic reform, such as the reorganisation of the College of Cardinals, a limitation of time was absurd in their case. Still more absurd was it that the articles about the Cardinals were established in perpetuity by the English concordat, and only for five years by the French and German concordats. That such conditions should have been admitted as satisfactory by the Council is only a sign how entirely its members were overcome by weariness, and how helpless they felt to grapple with the practical questions raised by the cry for reform.

In fact, every one wanted to get away from Constance, and the most sanguine hoped that, after a few years of rest, the next General Council would find greater unanimity among the nations. As soon as the decree of March 21 had been passed the reforming work of the Council of Constance was virtually at an end; but before it separated a trivial matter was brought forward which involved principles more important for future reform than any contained in the concordats. A complaint was made to the Pope of the irregular institution within the Church of a new ideal of Christian life.

A spirit of refined pietism had for some time prevailed in the Netherlands, till it received a definite organisation from the fervour of Gerhard Groot, a mission preacher whose eloquence produced great results in the province of Utrecht. But Gerhard Groot was not merely a preacher; he was also a theological student, and a man

The Brethren of Common Life.

whose beautiful character attracted a number of young men to follow him. Some were his friends, some his scholars, and others were employed by him to copy manuscripts, which he was fond of collecting and disseminating. From these various elements a small society gradually sprang up around him, which took an organised shape under the name of the Brotherhood of Common Life. The Brethren lived in common, devoted to good works, and especially to the cause of popular education. Gerhard Groot died at Deventer, which was the centre of his labours, in 1384; but his system lived under the guidance of Florentius Radewins, and the spirit which inspired the Brotherhood is still vocal to Christendom in the pages of Thomas à Kempis.

Position of Matthias Grabow.

It was, however, only natural that the old monastic orders should look with suspicion on the rise of a rival. The Brethren of the Common Life were fiercely attacked by the Friars, and at last the question of the legality of their position was brought before the decision of assembled Christendom. Matthias Grabow, a Dominican of Gröningen, wrote a book against the Brotherhood, and when reproved by the Bishop of Utrecht, appealed to the Pope. His position was that worldly possessions are inseparable from a life in the world, and that those only who enter an established religious order can meritoriously practise the three ascetic duties of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The monastic life claimed for itself, not only an unquestioned superiority, but also the exclusive right of practising its fundamental virtues. The recognised monastic orders would allow no extension of their principles, and would admit of no middle term between themselves and the ordinary life of man.[1]

Martin V. submitted the question to a commission of theologians. D'Ailly and Gerson had a last opportunity

[1] 'Nullus potest meritorie et secundum Deum obedientiæ, paupertatis, et castitatis consilia extra veras et approbatas religiones manendo adimplere,' was one of Grabow's conclusions, in Gerson, *Op.*, i., 471.

of showing that their reforming views still had a meaning. D'Ailly attacked the phrase 'veræ religiones,' and declared it to be heresy to assert that there was no true religion save amongst monks. Gerson, on April 3, 1418, presented an examination of Grabow's propositions. He laid down that there was one religion only, the religion of Christ, which can be practised without vows and needs nothing to add to its perfection. The monastic orders are wrongly called 'states of perfection'; they are only assemblies of those striving towards perfection. The opinions of Grabow would exclude from true religion popes and prelates, who had not taken monastic vows—nay, even Christ Himself. The obligations undertaken by monks were many of them equally adapted for laymen also, and ought to be brought home to them. He pronounced the opinions of Grabow to be erroneous, even heretical and worthy of condemnation. His opinion was followed, and Grabow retracted. The Brethren of the Common Life were thenceforth unmolested and enjoyed papal recognition. The mediæval notion of the perfection of monastic life received a severe blow; and though the reformers of Constance could not agree to sweep away the abuses of the existing system of the Church, they resisted an attempt to check the free development of Christian zeal.

Grabow condemned by D'Ailly and Gerson. April, 1418.

Nothing now remained for the Council except formally to separate. Martin V. celebrated with great ecclesiastical pomp the festivities of Easter, while the Council prepared for its dissolution. On April 19 he fixed Pavia as the seat of the next Council, which was to be held in seven years' time. On April 22 was held the last general session; but the Council did not part in peace, as the ambassadors of Poland rose and demanded from Pope and Council the condemnation of the writings of Falkenberg, otherwise they would appeal to the future Council. There was some confusion, and Martin V. answered that all the decrees passed by the Council in mat-

Dissolution of the Council of Constance. April 22, 1418.

ters of faith he would ratify, but nothing more.[1] The Polish envoy would have proceeded to read his protest and appeal, but Martin forbade him. The Bishop of Catania preached a farewell sermon on the text, 'Now ye have sorrow, but I shall see you again and your heart shall rejoice'. The decree of the dissolution of the Council was read, and indulgences were granted to those who had been present at it. Then rose Doctor Ardecin of Novara, and in the name of Sigismund declared the trouble and expense which the Council had caused him, which, however, he did not regret, seeing that it had wrought the unity of the Church; if anything had been done amiss it had not been by his fault.[2] He thanked all the members of the Council for their presence, and declared himself ready to support the Church until death.

Martin V. leaves Constance. May 16, 1418.

The Council was now over; but Sigismund was anxious to keep Martin V. in Germany. It was not entirely beyond his hopes that the Papacy might now for a time be in the hands of Germany, as before it had been in the hands of France. He besought Martin to remain at least till the next Easter, and offered him Basel, Strasburg, or Mainz as his place of residence;[3] but Martin answered that the miserable condition of the States of the Church needed a ruler's hand, and that his place was in Rome. Sigismund had already had reason to discover that Martin was not likely to be a tool in his hands.[4] He reluctantly saw his preparations for departure, and at last, on May

[1] Von der Hardt, iv., 1551: 'Papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata et conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens sacrum concilium *conciliariter* tenere et inviolabiliter observare volebat et nunquam contravenire quoquomodo. Ipsaque sic conciliariter facta approbat et ratificat, et non aliter nec alio modo.'

[2] Von der Hardt, iv., 1553: 'Excusans se, si per eum aliqua non fuerint bene facta, non culpa sui illa commissa fore'.

[3] Windeck, in Mencken, i., 1110.

[4] Martin V. told the Florentine ambassador, 'che collo Imperadore non aveva stretta amicizia; ma si mantellava, mentre che era nel luogo di Costanzia, colla sua Serenità con apparente amicizia al buon fine e più pacifico stato di santa Chiesa'.—*Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, i., 293.

16, escorted him to Gottlieben, where Martin took ship to Schaffhausen, whence he journeyed to Geneva.

Difficulties of Sigismund's departure.

Sigismund did not find it so easy to leave Constance. The attendants of the needy monarch received scanty pay from their master, and were most of them deeply indebted to the burghers of Constance, who were not willing to let them go till they had paid their debts. In vain Sigismund tried to negotiate through the city magistrates for an extension of credit. He was forced as a last resource to call a meeting of creditors in the Exchange of the city and trust to his own eloquence. He spoke at length of his good offices to the citizens of Constance in summoning the Council to their city and maintaining it there so long; he dwelt upon the profit they had made thereby, and the glory they had gained throughout the world; then he turned to pleasing flattery and praised them for the way in which they had more than justified by their behaviour all his anticipations. 'With such words,' says Reichenthal, 'he caused the poor folk to think that all he said was true, and rested on good grounds.' When he saw that he had gained the people's hearts, he proposed to leave in pledge for the debt his gold and silver plate. The creditors relented and accepted his offer. Then Sigismund thanked them warmly for their confidence, and went on to say that it would be a great disgrace to him if he robbed his table of its plate; he begged them instead to take his fine linen and hangings, which he could more easily dispense with for a time. The luckless creditors could not avoid consenting. The linen was handed over, and no pains were spared in entering the various debts in ledgers. Then, on May 21, Sigismund and his needy followers rode away; but the pledges were never redeemed, and when the creditors came to examine them they found them to be unsaleable, as they were all embroidered with Sigismund's arms. Many of the citizens of Constance were reduced to poverty through their trust in Sigismund's words; and the plausible and shifty king left behind him a mixed legacy of misery and

grandeur as the record of his long sojourn in the walls of Constance.[1]

Fortunes of D'Ailly and Gerson.

The members of the Council quickly dispersed to their homes. During the long period of the session many eminent men had died in Constance. Manuel Chrysoloras, a learned Greek who by his teaching had done much to further the knowledge of Greek letters in Italy, died in April, 1415, to the grief of all his learned friends. That such a man as John XXIII. should have brought a Greek scholar in his train is a curious testimony of the advance of the new learning to political importance. The death of Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, in September, 1417, was followed by that of Cardinal Zabarella, and the Council lost thereby two of its most distinguished members. With the dissolution of the Council the other men who had been eminent at its beginning sank into insignificance. Peter d'Ailly went back to France as Papal legate, and died in 1420. Gerson's attitude in the affair of Jean Petit had raised him such determined enemies in France that he dared not return, but found shelter first in Bavaria and afterwards at Vienna. After the murder of the Duke of Burgundy in September, 1419, he went back to Lyons, where in the monastery of S. Paul he ended his days in works of piety and devotion, and died in 1429. We can best picture the disastrous results of the Council of Constance when we see how entirely it destroyed the great reforming party of the University of Paris, and condemned its learned and eloquent leader to end his days in banishment and obscurity.

Results of the reformation of Constance.

Those who returned home from the Council could not, with any feelings of satisfaction, contrast the results which they brought home with the anticipations with which they had set out for Constance. It is true that they had restored the unity of the Church by the election of a Pope, and that they had purged the Church of heresy by their dealings with Hus; but the state

[1] This account is given by Reichenthal with a plain truthfulness that sometimes rises to humour.

of affairs in Bohemia was not such as to assure them that their high-handed procedure had been entirely successful. Many must have been inclined to admit with Gerson[1] that there had been a strange contrast between the determined condemnation of Hus and the indifference shown to the more pernicious doctrines of Jean Petit and Falkenberg. They must have admitted that the Bohemians had some grounds for dissatisfaction, some reason for complaining of respect of persons. As regards the reformation of the Church, the most determined optimists could not say more than that the question remained open, and that they looked to a future Council to carry on the work which they had begun. The representatives of the various nations could not flatter themselves that the concordats which they took back with them were of much importance. In France the Government determined not to recognise the concordat; they thought it better to curb the Papal exactions by the use of the royal power, and uphold the legislation which the pressure of the Schism had called forth in 1406, forbidding the prelates to observe Papal reservations and the clergy to pay undue exactions to the Pope. Before the concordat reached France, at the end of March, 1418, royal decrees again established the old liberties of the Gallican Church against Papal reservations and exactions. France preferred to follow the example of England, and assert the liberties of its Church on the basis of the royal sovereignty rather than on the ecclesiastical basis of a Papal grant.[2] When the concordat was presented, on June 10, 1418, to the Parlement of Paris, to be registered among the laws of the land, it was rejected as being contrary

[1] *Dialogus Apologeticus*, Op., ii., 367: 'Primitus Bohemi dehinc Anglici detulerant errores Wicliff . . . pro quorum reprobatione zelavit publice advena et quantum alter aliorum. Videat autem prudentia tua, si non existimare justum erat nec temerarium, non minori diligentia, zelo vel constantia procedi debere ad damnationem doctrinæ magis in moribus et reipublicæ pestiferæ et hoc omni tergiversatione vel personarum acceptione rejectis?'

[2] The documents on this point are to be found in *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ch. xxii.

to the laws just enacted by the royal authority. It is true that a few months later the Duke of Burgundy became supreme in Paris, abolished the decrees of March, and recognised the concordat; but a new convention was made with Martin V. by the Duke of Bedford as regent of France in 1425, and this took the place of the agreement made at Constance. In England no notice was taken of the concordat, which indeed was sufficiently insignificant. In Germany it was not laid before the Diet, nor was any attempt made to secure for it legislative authority; it remained as a compact between the Pope and the ecclesiastical authorities, and seems to have been fairly well observed during the five years for which it was originally granted.

Reforms mooted at Constance.

Before leaving the Council of Constance it is worth while to take a general view of the actual points for reform which were there brought forward. The original desire of the reforming party for a general reorganisation of the ecclesiastical system rapidly faded away before the difficulties of the task, and the practical proposals that were made represent the actual grievances felt by the bishops and clergy in consequence of Papal aggression. The aspirations of the Council did not ultimately go farther than the defence of the power of the Ordinary against Papal interference. The proposals of the Council afford an opportunity for noting the extent to which the Papal headship had broken down the machinery of the Church, had destroyed its political independence, and had introduced abuses into its system.

Revival of synods.

The first point to which naturally the Council attached great importance was the revival of the synodal system of the Church, a primitive institution suppressed by the Papal absolutism, but which the pressure of the Schism had again brought into prominence. The authority of a General Council to decide in cases of a disputed election to the Papacy was asserted as the means of avoiding the possibility of another schism, and the periodical recurrence of General Councils was to be the future panacea for all ills

which the present was powerless to cure.[1] An attempt was made to limit the plenitude of the Papal absolutism, by converting the profession of faith made by the Pope on his election into an oath to maintain the established constitutions of the Church:[2] but the attempt was unavailing, and the formula drawn up by Boniface VIII. remained unaltered.

Reorganisation of the College of Cardinals.

The reorganisation of the College of Cardinals was regarded as necessary both for the stability of the Papacy and the relief of the Church. It was agreed that Cardinals ought to be chosen from every nation, so as to prevent the Papacy from falling into the hands of any one Power, to the risk of another schism. The number of the College was fixed at eighteen, or twenty-four at the outside, so as to lighten the burden of maintaining Cardinals out of the revenues of the Church; amongst them was to be a good proportion of doctors of theology, so as to deal satisfactorily with theological questions. These points of detail were accepted by Martin V. in the concordats, which rapidly became a dead letter. But the desire on the part of many to convert the College of Cardinals into a Council, without whose advice and consent the Pope was not to act,[3] found no expression in any of the acts of the Council.

Papal taxation.

The great practical questions, however, concerned the heavy taxation which the Papacy had gradually imposed on the Church. The political enterprises of the Papacy in the thirteenth century, and its loss of territorial revenues during the Avignonese captivity, had grievously embarrassed Papal finance. The Popes set themselves to raise money by extending their old privilege of providing for their own agents and officials by presenting them to rich benefices. For this purpose they issued Bulls, reserving for their own appointment certain benefices, and

[1] The arguments on this point are summed up very clearly in the *Canones Reformationis Ecclesiæ*, Von der Hardt, i., 410, etc.

[2] Proposals of the first reform commission, Von der Hardt, i., 586.

[3] Peter d'Ailly, *De Ecclesiastica Potestate*, published at Constance in Oct., 1416. Hardt, vi., 51: 'Cardinales qui cum Papa et sub eo ecclesiam regerent et usum plenitudinis potestatis temperarent'.

setting aside the rights of the Ordinary as patron. Round this custom grew up every kind of financial extortion. Dues were exacted from the Papal nominees, which soon rose to the amount of the revenues of the first year on all benefices conferred in the Consistory, and under Boniface IX. to a half of the revenues of the first year on all other benefices to which the Pope presented. To obtain these annates, which were the chief source of Papal revenue, the power of reservation and provision was pushed to its utmost extent, and John XXIII. exacted the payment of these dues before issuing letters of institution. The patronage of all important posts was taken away from the bishops; the Papal nominees, being heavily taxed themselves, were driven to raise money by every means from their benefices; churches and ecclesiastical buildings were allowed to fall into decay.[1]

Moreover, the Popes exercised most unscrupulously this power of reservation and collation to all benefices. Bishops and clergy found themselves translated against their will from one post to another, which they were compelled to accept, and pay fresh dues for their collation. This point touched all the higher clergy so closely that the Council's decree of October 9, 1417, provided that bishops should not be translated against their will, save for a grave reason to be approved by a majority of the Cardinals. An extension of the power of reservation was that of making grants in expectancy—that is, of the next presentation to a benefice already occupied. John XXIII. exacted the payment of dues on installation before issuing his grants in expectancy, and would grant the same benefice to several candidates at once; each would be induced to pay, though only one could obtain the prize. Although the abuses of such a system are manifest enough, yet the Reform Commission could not agree how to deal with them, and the matter dropped out of the deliberations of the Council. The whole question of Papal reservations was so complicated by the jealousy of

[1] See Niem (not D'Ailly), *De Necessitate Reformationis*, Hardt, I., pt. vii., 282, etc.

the Universities against the Ordinaries that nothing was done to affect the Pope's power in this matter, though the French and German concordats prescribed certain limitations.

The reform of the Papal law courts was another point on which much was said but little was decided. The extension of the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts in civil matters was felt to be an increasing grievance, and a desire was expressed at Constance to see the limits of the two jurisdictions more clearly established.[1] The ease with which appeals even on trivial matters were received by the Roman courts was destructive of the power of the ordinary courts, afforded a screen to wealthy and powerful wrong-doers, and was an intolerable hardship to poor suitors. Closely connected with this were the exemptions from episcopal or metropolitan jurisdiction which were largely granted to monasteries and chapters. The poor man, when wronged by one who enjoyed such an exemption, had practically no redress, for he could not carry his complaint before the Pope.[2] Martin V., by the decrees of March 21, 1418, cancelled all exemptions granted during the Schism, and undertook that for the future they should only be made on good reasons.

Papal law courts.

Other points were given up by Martin V., such as the incorporation of benefices with monasteries, and the reservation to the Pope of the revenues of benefices during the time of vacancy. This last had been a right of the bishops which the Popes during the fourteenth century had wrested from them, and which Martin V. was willing to resign to save the more important privilege of annates. The custom also of granting offices *in commendam* to one who drew their revenues without discharging

Papal grants.

[1] The views of the Reform Commission (Hardt, i., 685) show us how wide a power was given to ecclesiastical courts, which may take cognisance even of 'causæ civiles, in quibus in seculari judicio justitia fuisset denegata vel ad terminum sex mensium prorogata'.

[2] Nicolas de Clémanges, *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, Hardt, I., pt. iii., 31. 'Fraudes et rapinas cum fecerint non est qui eos puniat. Ad papam enim, quem solum judicem plerique eorum se habere jactant, quis circumvento pauperi accessus est?'

their duties weighed heavily on many monasteries, and was provided against in the French and German concordats. The freedom of the clergy from taxation had been broken through by the crusading movement, and during the Schism Popes had used the right of exacting tenths of ecclesiastical revenues, partly to recruit their own finances, partly to grant them as bribes to princes whom they wished to win over to their obedience. The decrees of March 21, 1418, enacted that for the future tenths should only be imposed in case of special necessity, with the consent of the Cardinals and of the prelates of every land on which they were imposed. Before the passing of this decree Martin V. had granted to Sigismund a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Germany, to which the Germans offered a determined resistance,[1] and which was probably the cause of the Council's persistence on this point.

Papal dispensations.

Other abuses of the Papal power were those of dispensations and indulgences. Dispensations were readily given by the Popes in matrimonial cases, as well as in cases of ecclesiastical disability. An outcry was early raised against them on the grounds of their interference with social relationships, the injury which they did to the Church by allowing unfit persons to hold office, and the handle which they gave to simony.[2] The Council, however, went no farther than to enact that Papal dispensations should not be given to persons who were unfit to discharge the duties of benefices of which they enjoyed the revenues. On the question of indulgences the Council did nothing, and even the concordats did not aim at doing more than giving the bishops a suspensory power in gross cases.[3] Simony

[1] A protest on their behalf was presented by a Florentine doctor, Domenico de Germignano, Hardt, ii., 608.

[2] Ullerston, *Petitiones quoad reformationem ecclesiæ*, Hardt, i., 1151. 'Esset notabilis extinctio symoniæ, quæ sub fuco dispensationis ingravescit.'

[3] Thus the English concordat, ch. ii. The German concordat provides, ch. x.: 'Cavebit dominus noster papa in futurum nimiam indulgentiarum effusionem, ne vilescant'. The French concordat, ch. v., says: 'Circa articulum indulgentiarum habita deliberatione matura nihil intendimus circa eas immutare seu ordinare',

had been too notorious under Boniface IX. and John XXIII. not to engage the attention of the Council; and the decree of March 21, 1418, enacted that those who obtained ecclesiastical offices by simony should be *ipso facto* suspended. It was easy to denounce simony; but it is obvious that it could only be seriously attacked by showing more decision than the Council was prepared to show in cutting off every abuse which gave an opportunity for its exercise.

Other points which appeared in the programme of the reformers concerned the position of the Pope, and were meant to enforce on him the necessity of living on his own revenues. The definition of the circumstances under which a Pope might be admonished or deposed was set aside by Martin, and the Papacy retired from the Council with its supremacy unimpaired. Enactments, which had been proposed, forbidding the alienation of the States of the Church, and suppressing nepotism by providing for the government of the Papal territories by ecclesiastical vicars, were all allowed to drop in the final settlement. Proposals to limit the grants made to Cardinals of offices which they never visited were also laid aside till the future of the States of the Church was more clearly seen.

Papal revenues.

This brief survey of the aspirations and achievements of the Council in the way of reform will suffice to show how entire was its failure to accomplish any permanent results. During the abeyance of the Papacy, while Europe was smarting under the exactions which the maintenance of two Papal courts had involved, while every one had before his eyes the ruin wrought in the ecclesiastical system by Papal usurpations, a splendid opportunity was offered for a temperate and conservative reformation. The collective wisdom of Europe after nearly four years' labour and discussion was found unequal to the task. The Council shrank from a consideration of the basis of the Christian life, and mercilessly condemned Hus as a rebel because he advocated the reformation of the Church with a view to the needs of the individual

Causes of the failure of the reform at Constance.

soul. When it had thus dismissed one possible form of reformation, it showed no capacity for devising a reformation of its own. The decisive correction of abuses required more statesmanship and more disinterestedness than were to be found among the fathers of Constance. There were men of keen penetration and intelligence, men who were able to criticise and suggest points of view, but there were none who united firmness of character, strong moral purpose, and large patriotism to the interests of Christendom. Gerson and D'Ailly could write and speak with fervour about the need of reform: they came to Constance as the leaders of a powerful academic party, which had many adherents in every land. But, when it came to the point, D'Ailly could not prefer the interests of the Church to the privileges of the Cardinals' College, and was found in the hour of need to be fighting on behalf of the rights of the Curia. Gerson threw himself into a small political dispute, and frittered away his influence in contending bitterly for things of no moment. The academic party grew alarmed at the prospect of an increase in the power of the bishops, and held by the Pope as likely to do more for learning. No uniform policy could be obtained from the Council even in matters of detail; unanimity was only possible on the most trivial points.

Defective organisation of the Council.

The failure of the Council is partly to be attributed to the difficulties of its composition and organisation. An ecclesiastical parliament, representative of the whole of Europe, was indeed a difficult thing to call into being and reduce to order. The organisation of the Council was settled in a haphazard way. The qualification necessary for those who were to take part in its deliberations was determined with a view to the existing emergency. The conciliar division into nations, adopted with a view of lessening the influence of the Pope, became in the end a hindrance to united action. The nations deliberating apart had just enough contact with one another to intensify national jealousies, and not enough to eliminate national

selfishness. Instead of uniting to reform the Papacy before electing a new Pope, national parties were ready to struggle for the possession of the Papacy and the consequent influence in the politics of Europe. But while the Council thus suffered from all the evils of national and political antagonism, it was unwilling to receive any of the benefits which it might have obtained from the same source. It acted as a purely ecclesiastical assembly, and made no effort to obtain the help of the State to secure effect to its decisions on Church matters. Sigismund was useful as Protector of the Council, but when he wished to protect Hus, when he ventured to press the question of reformation, the Council complained loudly of undue interference, and threatened to dissolve. Sigismund left Constance in October, 1417, that the freedom of the assembled fathers might be secured, that they might be left to decide for themselves the conditions on which they would proceed to the election of a Pope.

While the Council stood on this purely ecclesiastical basis, its nations in no sense expressed the national desires of Europe. The points brought forward for reform show clearly enough that the real question in the Council was the struggle of the bishops to make good their position against the Pope. The ecclesiastical aristocracy took advantage of the temporary abasement of the Papal monarchy to increase its own powers and importance. So soon as it was seen that this was the general upshot of the schemes of the Reform Commissioners other interests began to cool in the matter, and difficulties began to be felt. The Universities had no wish to see the Papacy curbed for the benefit of the Episcopate. The increase of the power of the ecclesiastical aristocracy was not an end which any of the reformers desired. It were better to leave things alone rather than only secure so doubtful a gain.

On all sides difficulties and disunion prevailed, so that men were wearied and hopeless. The most sanguine, as he left Constance, could only hope that at least a beginning had been made for conciliar action in the future, and that the new

Council which was to meet in five years' time would have the experience of the past to guide it to a more successful issue.

On his part also Martin V. left Constance thankful that the Papal power had suffered so little at the hands of the Council, and with the reflection that he had five years before him in which to devise means for saving the Papacy from further interference.

BOOK III.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

1419—1444.

CHAPTER I.

MARTIN V. AND ITALIAN AFFAIRS.

1418—1425.

On leaving Constance Martin V. felt himself for the first time free. He had been taught by the events of the last four years that freedom was only possible for a Pope in Italy, in spite of all the temporary inconveniences which might arise from Italian politics. But much as he might desire to find himself in his native city, and revive the glories of the Papacy in its old historic seat, he could not immediately proceed to Rome. John XXIII. had abandoned Rome, and had been driven even to flee from Bologna, owing to his political helplessness and the power of his opponent Ladislas. The death of Ladislas and the abeyance of the Papacy had only plunged Italian affairs into deeper confusion, and Martin V. had to pause a while and consider how he could best return to Italy.

Martin V. journeys to Italy. 1418.

Through the Swiss cantons Martin made a triumphal progress, and had no reason to complain of want of respect or lack of generosity. On June 11 he reached Geneva, and in the city of the prince-bishop he stayed for three months; there he had the satisfaction of receiving the allegiance of the citizens of Avignon. He seems to have wished to display himself as much as possible, and exert the prestige of the restored Papacy to secure his position. At the end of September he moved slowly from Geneva through Savoy to Turin, and thence through Pavia to Milan, where he was

Martin V. takes up his residence in Florence. February, 1419.

received with great honour by Filippo Maria Visconti on October 12. So great was the popular curiosity to see the Pope that when he went to consecrate a new altar in the cathedral several people were trampled to death in the throng.[1] At Milan Martin showed his desire for the pacification of Italy by making terms between Filippo Maria and Pandolfo Malatesta, who had seized on Brescia.[2] There, too, he received ambassadors from the Florentines, who, in their capacity of peacemakers, were anxious to arrange matters so as to enable the Pope to return quietly to Rome. They offered him a refuge in their city and also their services as mediators.[3] On October 19 Martin left Milan for Brescia, and on October 25 he entered Mantua. There he stayed till the end of the year seeking for some means to make the Papal influence a real power in Italian affairs. At length he resolved to accept the services of the Florentines, and set out for their city, avoiding on his way the rebellious Bologna, which had cast off the Papal rule. On February 26, 1419, he entered Florence, where he was honourably received, and took up his abode in the monastery of Santa Maria Novella.

Fortunes of Naples. 1414-1416.

The condition of Italy was indeed sufficiently disturbed to need all the efforts of the Pope and of Florence to reduce it to order and peace. In Lombardy, Filippo Maria, Duke of Milan, was bent on winning back the lands of his father Giangaleazzo, which had fallen into the hands of petty tyrants. Southern Italy was thrown into confusion by the death of Ladislas, who was succeeded in the kingdom of Naples by his sister Giovanna II., a woman with none of the qualities of a ruler, who used her position solely as a means of personal gratification. The death of Louis of Anjou gave every hope of a peaceful reign to the

[1] See, for a description of the ceremonies, Corio, *Storia di Milano*, part iv., ch. ii.

[2] Platina, *Hist. Mantuana*, in Muratori, xx., 800.

[3] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi* (i., 296, etc.) gives a full account of these negotiations.

distracted Neapolitan kingdom; but Giovanna's ungovernable passions soon made it a sphere of personal intrigue. At first the Queen, a widow of forty-seven years old, was under the control of a lover, Pandolfello Alapo, whom she made Chamberlain and covered with her favours. To maintain his position against the discontented barons, Alapo formed an alliance with Sforza, who was made Grand Constable of Naples. But the barons insisted that the Queen should marry, and in 1415 she chose for her husband Jacques de Bourbon, Count of La Marche. The barons sided with the Count of La Marche, who, by their help, imprisoned Sforza, put Alapo to death, and exercised the power of King. The favour, however, which he showed to his own countrymen the French disgusted the Neapolitan nobles, and in 1416 Giovanna was able again to assert her own power. By this time she had a new favourite to direct her, Giovanni Caraccioli, who drove the King to leave Naples, and thought it wise also to find an occupation for Sforza which would keep him at a distance. For this purpose he sent him on an expedition against Braccio, who had attacked the States of the Church and had advanced against Rome.

Rise of Braccio.

Andrea Braccio, of the family of the Counts of Montone, was a noble Perugian who, in his youth, had been driven by party struggles to leave his native city, and had embraced the calling of a condottiere under Alberigo da Barbiano. He served on many sides in the Italian wars, and finally was in the pay of Ladislas, who played him false in an attack upon Perugia; whereon Braccio joined the side of John XXIII., who left him governor of Bologna when he set out for Constance. Braccio was possessed with a desire to make himself master of his native city of Perugia, and in 1416 sold the Bolognese their liberty and hired soldiers on every side. He defeated Carlo Malatesta,[1] whom the Perugians called to their aid, and in July, 1416,

[1] A picture by Paolo Uccelli in the National Gallery commemorates this celebrated battle, fought near Assisi on the Tiber, close to Sant' Egidio. Carlo Malatesta and his nephew were made prisoners.

made himself master of the city. Soon, desirous of enlarging his territory, he advanced into the States of the Church. Todi, Rieti, and Narni soon fell before him, and he pressed on to the neighbourhood of Rome. But Braccio, to win Perugia, had drawn to his side the condottiere general Tartaglia, who stipulated, in return for his services, that Braccio should not oppose him in attacking the dominions of Sforza. From that time Sforza conceived a deadly hatred against Braccio, and for the next few years the history of Italy is an account of the desperate rivalry of these two rival condottieri.

Braccio in Rome. 1417.

Rome during the abeyance of the Papacy was left in an anomalous condition. The Castle of S. Angelo, which had been taken by Ladislas, was still held by a Neapolitan governor. John XXIII. on departing for Constance had appointed Cardinal Isolani his legate in Rome; and he was assisted, or hindered, by the presence of the Cardinal of S. Angelo, Pietro degli Stefanacci, who found Rome preferable to Constance.[1] The legate Isolani managed to retain considerable influence over the Romans, and induced them to carry on the government of the city according to the constitution established before the interference of Ladislas. But Rome was in no condition to offer resistance to Braccio when he advanced against it, and on June 9, 1417, took up his position by S. Agnese. In vain the legate tried to negotiate for his departure. Braccio harried the adjacent country, and reduced the Romans to capitulate through hunger. He had an ally in the Cardinal Stefanacci, who welcomed him on his triumphal entry on June 16 and helped him to form a new magistracy. The legate fled into the Castle of S. Angelo, and begged for help from Naples. His

[1] That his presence in Rome was for no good we gather from many mentions in the *Diarium Antonii Petri* (Mur., xxiv.). The following, p. 1061, may suffice: 'Statim quod supradictus Dominus Stephanus Barbarini descendit de Sanula fuit interfectus absque ulla mora, et hoc fecerunt familiares Domini Cardinalis de Sancto Angelo de mandato suo quia supradictus Stephanus ibat ad supponendum concubinam dicti Cardinalis de Sancto Angelo'. Stefano was a canon of S. Peter's.

entreaties were heard, as Sforza was burning for revenge against Braccio, and Giovanna's new favourite, Caraccioli, was looking about for some means of getting rid of Sforza, whose manly frame might soon prove too attractive to the susceptible Queen. Braccio was engaged in besieging the Castle of S. Angelo when the arrival of Sforza on August 10 warned him of his danger. Sforza, seeing how matters stood, went to Ostia, and crossed the Tiber without hindrance. When Braccio heard that he was advancing against him he judged it unwise to risk the loss of his newly-won possessions, and on August 26 withdrew to Perugia. Sforza entered Rome in triumph with the banners of Naples and of the Church. He restored the legate Isolani to power, appointed new magistrates, and imprisoned the traitorous Cardinal of S. Angelo, who died soon afterwards.

Such was the condition of affairs which Martin V. had to face on his election. It was natural that his first movement should be towards alliance with Giovanna II. of Naples, seeing that the Neapolitan influence seemed most powerful in Rome. He welcomed Giovanna's ambassadors and sent a cardinal to arrange matters with the Queen as early as May, 1418. Giovanna agreed to restore all the possessions of the Church and make a perpetual alliance with the Pope, who was to crown her Queen of Naples. She gave a pledge of her sincerity by the usual means of enriching the Pope's relations. Martin's brother, Giordano Colonna, was made Duke of Amalfi and Venosa, his nephew Antonio was made Grand Chamberlain of Naples; and, on August 21, appeared with a Bull announcing the Pope's alliance with Giovanna.[1] Antonio at first attached himself to the favourite Caraccioli; but before the end of the year Sforza was strong enough to organise a popular rising against the favourite, who was forced to leave Naples, and was sent as ambassador to Martin V. at Mantua. There the surrender of the fortresses

Alliance of Martin V. with Giovanna II. of Naples. 1419.

[1] *Giornali Napolitani* (Mur., xxi.), p. 1080.

which the Neapolitans occupied in the States of the Church and the coronation of Giovanna were finally arranged. Early in 1419 a Papal Legate was sent to Naples to perform the coronation.

Thus matters stood when Martin took refuge in Florence. He could do nothing better than await the course of events in Naples and the results of the Florentine mediation. Return to Rome with Braccio hostile was impossible. If Braccio were to be overthrown, it could only be by the arms of Sforza; but the Pope's first steps had been to ally with Giovanna and Caraccioli, with whom Sforza was now at enmity. At Florence Martin's prestige was increased by the arrival of four of Benedict XIII.'s cardinals, who were solemnly received on March 17. So far as Italy was concerned, Martin V. had nothing to fear from Peter de Luna. But the deposed Baldassare Cossa was still an object of his dread, for Braccio had threatened to espouse Cossa's cause, and might again raise him to the position of a dangerous rival. Accordingly, Martin was very anxious to get Cossa into his hands, and the Florentines, in the interests of peace, were desirous that this matter should be arranged. John XXIII., when legate of Bologna, had always been on good terms with the Florentines, and had stood in friendly relations with several of the richest citizens, amongst whom were Giovanni dei Medici and Niccolo da Uzzano, who were now ready to interfere on his behalf. They procured from Martin V. a promise that he would deal gently with his deposed predecessor, and advanced the sum of 38,500 Rhenish ducats to buy the release of Cossa from Lewis of Bavaria, in whose custody he was.[1] On his way to Florence Cossa was escorted by the Bishop of Lübeck, who was charged by Martin V. to keep a sharp eye upon him. At Parma he lodged with an old friend, who alarmed him with rumours

Submission of Baldassare Cossa to Martin V. June 1, 1419.

[1] 'Documenti relativi alla liberazione della prigionia di Giovanni XXIII.,' in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. iv., part i. (first series), p. 429.

that Martin V. meant to have him imprisoned for life at Mantua. He fled by night to Genoa, where he found protection from the Doge, Tommaso di Campo Fregoso. Friends quickly gathered round him, urging him once more to try his fortunes and assert his claims to the Papacy.[1] For a brief space there was a thrill of horror lest the miseries of the Schism should again begin. But the wise counsels of Giovanni dei Medici and his Florentine friends seem to have prevailed with Cossa; they assured him of his safety, and urged him to fulfil his promise. John XXIII. no longer possessed his former vigour or felt his old confidence in himself and his fortunes. The helplessness which had overtaken him at Constance still haunted him, and though the old spirit might rekindle for a moment, it was soon chilled by doubt and hesitation. He judged it wisest to trust his friends, proceed to Florence, and submit to the mercy of Martin V. On June 14 he entered Florence, and was received with respectful pity by the entire body of the citizens. The sight of one who had fallen from a high degree kindled their sympathy, and Cossa's poor apparel and miserable look impressed more vividly the sense of his changed fortunes. On June 27 he appeared before Martin in full consistory, and kneeling before him made his submission. 'I alone,' he said, 'assembled the Council; I always laboured for the good of the Church; you know the truth. I come to your Holiness and rejoice as much as I can at your elevation and my own freedom.' Here his voice was broken with passion; his haughty nature could ill brook his humiliation. Martin received him graciously, and placed on his head the cardinal's hat. But Cossa did not long live under the shadow of his successor. He died in the same year on December 23, and his Florentine friends were faithful to his memory. In the stately Baptistery of Florence the Medici erected to him a splendid tomb. The recumbent figure cast in bronze was

[1] These details are to be found in Platina, *Vita Martini V.;* Leon. Aretin., *Commentarii* (Mur., xix., 930); *Vita Martini V.* (Mur., III., part ii., 863), and the note of Mansi to Raynaldus, *Annales*, No. 6 *sub anno.*

the work of Donatello, and the marble pedestal which supports it was wrought by Michelozzo. It bears the simple inscription, 'Johannes quondam Papa XXIII. obiit Florentiæ'.

Martin V. and Sforza suspicious of Giovanna II.

Martin V.'s attention was meanwhile directed to the kingdom of Naples, and he urged on Giovanna II. the duty of restoring to his obedience the States of the Church. Giovanna was not sorry to rid herself of Sforza, for she longed to recall her favourite Caraccioli. Sforza was despatched to war against Braccio, but on June 20 was defeated at Montefiasone, near Viterbo. But Martin was enabled to detach Tartaglia from Braccio's side, and Sforza could again set an army in the field in the name of Naples and the Pope. He was not, however, supported from Naples; for Giovanna had recalled Caraccioli, and the favourite thought it better to leave Sforza to his fate. Martin saw that nothing was to be gained from a further alliance with Giovanna II. and Caraccioli. Moreover the question of the Neapolitan succession was again imminent, for Giovanna was over fifty years of age, and was childless. Louis III. of Anjou had already begged Martin to procure from Giovanna II. a formal recognition of his claim, and the Pope judged that the opportunity was favourable for action. Sforza was weary of the selfish policy of Caraccioli, and the Neapolitan barons resented the rule of the insolent favourite. The Florentines offered Martin V. their aid to mediate between him and Braccio. The Pope saw an opportunity of making himself the central figure in the politics of Southern Italy. At peace with Braccio, and allied with Sforza, he might settle the succession to Naples in favour of Louis of Anjou, and end the Neapolitan difficulty which had so long harassed his predecessors.

Braccio in Florence. February, 1420.

In January, 1420, Sforza paid Martin V. a visit in Florence, and the Pope broached his views, to which, with some reluctance, Sforza gave his adhesion. Scarcely had Sforza departed before Braccio, at the end of February, made a triumphal entry into Florence, there to

celebrate his reconciliation with the Pope. With a splendid escort of four hundred horsemen and forty foot, with deputies from the various cities under his rule, Braccio entered the city in grandeur that awoke the enthusiastic acclamations of the Florentines. In the middle of the bands of horsemen, gleaming in gold and silver armour, mounted on splendid steeds richly caparisoned, rode Braccio, clad in purple and gold, on a steed whose trappings were of gold. He was a man rather above the middle height, with an oval face that seemed too full of blood, yet with a look of dignity and power that, in spite of his limbs maimed with wounds, marked him as a ruler of men.[1] Amid the shouts of the thronging citizens Braccio visited the Pope, and paid him haughty reverence. After a few days spent in negotiations, an alliance was made between Martin V. and Braccio, by which Braccio was left in possession of Perugia, Assisi, and other towns which he had won, on condition of reducing Bologna to obedience to the Pope.

Martin V.'s pride was sorely hurt by the avowed preference which the Florentines showed to the condottiere over the Pope. The Florentine boys expressed the common feeling by a doggerel rhyme which they sang in the streets, and which soon reached the ears of the sensitive Pope:—

Braccio valente
Vince ogni gente:
Il Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino.

Braccio the Great
Conquers every state:
Poor Pope Martin
Is not worth a farthing.

He was glad to see Braccio leave Florence, and hoped that the task of reducing Bologna would occupy him long enough to enable Sforza to make his attack on Giovanna unimpeded by Braccio's hostility.[2] Braccio, however, rapidly gathered

[1] A full account of Braccio's entering into Florence, which abounds in interesting details, is given in Campanus, *Vita Brachii*, Mur., xix., 562.

[2] Campanus, *Vita Brachii*, Mur., xix., 566.

his forces, and conducted matters with such skill that on July 22 the Pope's legate took possession of Bologna.[1]

Sforza declares for Louis III. of Anjou. June, 1420.

Meanwhile Sforza hastened the preparations against Giovanna II. On June 18 he suddenly raised the standard of the Duke of Anjou, and began to make war against Naples: on August 19 ten Angevin galleys made their appearance off the Neapolitan coast. Louis of Anjou eagerly caught at Martin V.'s offer of protection; he did not scruple to leave France in the hands of the English, and abandon his land of Provence to the hostile attacks of the Duke of Savoy, that he might pursue the phantom kingdom of Naples, which had proved disastrous to his father and his grandfather alike.

Alliance of Giovanna II. with Alfonso V. of Aragon. 1420.

Giovanna II., seeing herself thus threatened, cast about on her part also for allies. She sent an ambassador to the Pope, whose hostility was not yet declared; but the subtle Neapolitan easily saw through the Pope's equivocal answers to his demands. There was in Florence at the Papal Court an ambassador of Alfonso V. of Aragon. To him in his strait the Neapolitan turned. He reminded him that the House of Aragon had as good a claim to Naples as the House of Anjou. Giovanna II. was childless, and could dispose of her kingdom as she chose; if Alfonso succoured her in her strait, he might count upon her gratitude. This proposal was very acceptable to Alfonso V., a young and ambitious king. By the death of Martin of Sicily without children in 1409 the kingdom of Sicily had been attached to that of Aragon, and Alfonso was keenly alive to the advantage of annexing Naples also. At the time that Giovanna's offer reached him he was engaged in prosecuting against the Genoese his claims on the island of Corsica, where, after a long siege, the desperate efforts of the Genoese threatened to render his undertaking hopeless. His ambassador at Florence was endeavouring to obtain from Martin V. a recognition of

[1] *Chronica Novella di Bologna*, Mur., xviii., 611.

Alfonso's claim to Corsica ; but Alfonso V. at once saw the policy of abandoning a doubtful attempt upon a barren island for the more alluring prize of the Neapolitan kingdom. He despatched from Corsica to the relief of Giovanna II. fifteen galleys, which arrived off Naples on September 6, and Giovanna II. showed her gratitude by adopting him as her son.

War was now let loose upon Naples. Alfonso and Giovanna sought to strengthen themselves by an alliance with Braccio. Martin V.'s policy had succeeded in providing occupation for all whom he had most to dread. He was now in a position to take advantage of the general confusion, and amid the weakness of all parties raise once more the prestige of the Papal name. He had gained all that was to be gained from a stay in Florence, and might now with safety venture to Rome. Moreover Martin V. was not over-satisfied with the impression which he had produced on the Florentines. The common-sense of the quick-witted commercial city was not taken in by high-sounding claims or magnificent ecclesiastical processions. The Florentines had shown for Braccio an admiration which they refused to Martin V. However much Martin might wrap himself in his dignity, and affect to despise popular opinion, he yet felt that in Florence nothing succeeded like success, and that a fortunate freebooter ranked above a landless Pope. The bustling, pushing spirit of a prosperous commercial city was alien to the Papacy, which could only flourish amongst the traditions and aspirations of the past. A few days before his departure from Rome Martin V. could not refrain from showing his wounded pride to Leonardo Bruni, who was present in the library of S. Maria Novella. For some time Martin V. walked gloomily up and down the room, gazing out of the window upon the garden below. At last he stopped before Leonardo, and in a voice quivering with scorn repeated the doggerel of the Florentine mob, 'Poor Pope Martin isn't worth a farthing'. Leonraod tried to appease him by saying that such trifles were

Discontent of Martin V with the Florentines.

not worthy of notice; but the Pope again repeated the lines in the same tone. Anxious for the fair fame of Florence, Leonardo at once undertook its defence, and pointed out to the Pope the practical advantages which he had derived from his stay—the recovery of some of the States of the Church, and especially of Bologna, the submission of John XXIII., the reconciliation with Braccio. Where else, he asked, could such advantages have been so easily obtained? The Pope's gloomy brow grew clearer before the words of the Florentine secretary.[1] Martin departed with goodwill from Florence; thanked its magistrates for their kind offices, and marked his gratitude to the city by erecting the bishopric of Florence to the dignity of an archbishopric.

Martin V. takes up his abode in Rome. September, 1420.

On September 9 Martin V. journeyed from Florence with due respect from the citizens. On September 20 he was honourably received in Siena, and used his opportunity to borrow 15,000 florins, for which he gave Spoleto as a pledge.[2] From Siena he proceeded through Viterbo to Rome, which he entered on September 28, and took up his abode by S. Maria del Popolo. Next day he was escorted to the Vatican by the city magistrates and the people, bearing lighted torches and clamorous with joy. The Romans had indeed occasion to hail any change that might restore their shattered fortunes. Everything that had happened in late years had tended to plunge them deeper and deeper in misery and ruin. The havoc wrought by the invasions of Ladislas, of Sforza, and of Braccio, the absence of the Pope, and consequent loss of traffic, the want of all authority in the Papal States, the pillage that wasted up to the walls of Rome—all these combined to reduce the city to wretchedness and desolation. Martin V. found Rome so devastated that it hardly looked like a city. Houses were in decay, churches in ruins, the streets were empty, filth and dirt were everywhere, food

[1] Leonardo, in his *Comm.*, Mur., xix., 931, gives a vivid account of this curious and characteristic scene.

[2] *Annali Senesi*, Mur., xix., 428.

was so scarce and dear that men could barely keep themselves alive. Civilisation seemed almost extinct. The Romans looked like the scum of the earth.[1] Martin V. had a hard task before him to bring back order and decency into the ruined city. It was his great merit that he set himself diligently to put matters straight, and that he succeeded in reclaiming its capital for the restored Papacy. His first care was to provide for the administration of justice, and put down the robbers who infested Rome and its neighbourhood, for the purpose of pillaging the pious pilgrims who visited the tombs of the Apostles.[2] But much had to be done to repair the ravages of preceding years, and new disasters rendered the task more difficult. In November, 1422, the town was overwhelmed by a flood in the Tiber, occasioned by Braccio's destruction of the wall of the Lago di Pie di Luco, the old Veline Lake. The water rose to the height of the high altar in the Pantheon, and as it subsided carried away the flocks from the fields and caused great destruction of property.

In Naples little was done worthy of the great efforts which were made. Alfonso's reinforcements checked the victorious career of Louis of Anjou and Sforza, till in June, 1421, Braccio brought his forces to Giovanna's aid, Alfonso himself arrived in Naples, and the Pope despatched Tartaglia to the aid of Louis. Alfonso and Braccio engaged in a fruitless siege of Acerra. Nothing serious was done, as the condottieri generals were engaged in a series of intrigues against one another. Sforza accused Tartaglia of treachery, seized him, and put him to death. Tartaglia's soldiers, indignant at the treatment of their leader, joined Braccio, who was anxious only to secure his own principality of Capua. Martin V. was weary of finding supplies, and was embarrassed by Alfonso's threats that he would again recognise Benedict XIII. Caraccioli was

Peace in Naples. 1422.

[1] This description, which may perhaps be rhetorical, is taken from Platina, *Vita Martini.*

[2] Infessura, *Diarium*, Mur., III. part ii., p. 1122.

afraid of Alfonso's resolute character, and sowed discord between him and Giovanna: Alfonso on his part was perplexed by the Queen's doubtful attitude towards him. As every one had his own reasons for desiring peace, the Pope's mediation was accepted for that purpose in March, 1422. Aversa and Castellamare, the only two places which Louis held, were surrendered to the Papal Legate, who soon afterwards gave them over to the Queen. Braccio and Sforza were outwardly reconciled, and Sforza joined the side of Giovanna, only with the purpose of favouring more surely the party of Louis. Louis himself withdrew to Rome, where he lived for two years at the Pope's expense, awaiting the results of Sforza's machinations. But this peace and its reconciliations were alike hollow. The mutual suspicions of Alfonso and Giovanna II. went on increasing till in May, 1423, Alfonso determined on a decisive blow. He suddenly imprisoned Caraccioli, and made a dash to obtain the person of the Queen, who was in the Castel Capuano at Naples. The attempt to surprise the Queen failed, and Alfonso besieged the Castle. But Sforza hastened to the Queen's aid, and, though his army was smaller than Alfonso's, he gave his men fresh courage by pointing to the splendid equipments of the Aragonese; raising the battle-cry, 'Fine clothes and good horses,'[1] he led his men to the charge. His inducement proved to be sufficiently strong; he won the day, and Alfonso in his turn was besieged in the Castel Nuovo. After this failure the fortunes of Louis of Anjou began to revive. Caraccioli was ransomed from prison, and he and Sforza urged Giovanna to cancel the adoption of the ungrateful Alfonso and accept Louis as her successor. At the end of June Louis arrived in Naples, and his adoption as Giovanna's heir was formally accomplished with the Pope's sanction.

Giovanna II. adopts Louis of Anjou. 1423.

Alfonso's hopes now rested on the prompt aid of Braccio;

[1] 'A li ben vestiti, a li ben a cavalli.'—*Gior. Nap.*, Mur., xix., 1088.

but Braccio entered the Neapolitan kingdom through the Abruzzi, and set himself to besiege the wealthy city of Aquila that he might obtain booty for his soldiers. The defence was obstinate, and the siege slowly dragged on. In vain Alfonso besought Braccio to quit it; the stubborn condottiere refused. Meanwhile Filippo Maria Visconti, who had by this time secured his possessions in Lombardy, and had moreover made himself master of Genoa, offered help to Giovanna. He did not wish that an active King like Alfonso should establish himself in Naples and urge troublesome claims to the Genoese possessions. Alfonso was afraid lest he might lose his command of the sea before the attack of the Genoese galleys; he also received disquieting news from Aragon. Weary with waiting for Braccio, who never came, he sailed away on October 15, and revenged himself on Louis by sacking Marseilles on his homeward voyage.

Alfonso leaves Naples. 1423.

The departure of Alfonso relieved Martin V. of a troublesome enemy; but his attention in this year, 1423, had to be directed to an equally troublesome matter. It was now five years since the dissolution of the Council of Constance, and the period for holding the next Council had arrived. Already in 1422 the University of Paris sent ambassadors to urge Martin V. to fulfil his promise. Among the envoys of the University was a learned Dominican, John Stoikovic, a native of Ragusa in Dalmatia, who stayed at Rome to watch Martin's proceedings, and be ready for the Council as soon as it was summoned.[1] Pavia had been fixed at Constance for its place of meeting; but in his letters of summons Martin V. was careful to express his fervour in behalf of the Council by saying that if Pavia was found unsuitable, he was resolved to call it to a more convenient place rather than it should dissolve.[2] The transalpine prelates were not inspirited by this kindly assurance; they felt that a Council in an Italian city was as

Martin V. summons a Council at Pavia. April, 1423.

[1] *Mon. Concil.*, i., 10.

[2] Letters in *Raynaldi Annales*, 1423, 1.

good as useless. Martin V. had taken no steps in the way of reforming the abuses of the Church. The state of Christendom was not favourable for a Council. In England Henry V. was dead, and the minority of Henry VI. had already begun to open up intrigues and jealousies. France was exhausted by its war with England. In Germany Sigismund was engaged in war with the Hussites in Bohemia, and had no time to spend in talk. There was nothing to encourage men to undertake the costly journey to Italy, where Martin V. was likely to employ them on the barren subject of a proposed union between the Eastern and Western Churches.

Council transferred to Siena. July, 1423.

When the Council was opened, on April 23, by the four prelates whom the Pope had nominated as presidents it was not largely attended.[1] Few came from beyond the Alps, and the absence of Italians showed that the Pope's influence was used against the Council from the beginning. Scarcely were the opening formalities at an end when the outbreak of the plague gave a reason for removing elsewhere, and the Council decided to go to Siena, where, on July 2, it resumed its labours.

The first step of the Council was to organise itself according to nations, and to determine who should have the right of voting. All prelates, abbots, graduates of universities who were in orders, rectors, ambassadors of kings, barons, and universities were to be admitted freely: other ecclesiastics were to be judged of by the nation to which they belonged. Each nation was to have a president elected every month, who, together with chosen deputies, was to prepare the business to be discussed by the nation according to the wishes of the majority. While making these arrangements the Council repeatedly sent to the Pope urging him to come

[1] John of Ragusa (*Mon. Concil.*, i., 10) says: 'Præsentibus quam plurimis episcopis, abbatibus, prælatis, doctoribus et ambassiatoribus diversarum nationum'. The author of the life of Martin in Mur., iii., 2, 865, says that there were only two Burgundian abbots, and the country had to be scoured to raise a decent number of ecclesiastics. Perhaps both writers are exaggerating on their own sides.

to Siena, and their request was confirmed by the city magistrates, who showed themselves amenable to the Pope's will by granting a safe-conduct in the terms which he demanded.

But when the safe-conduct was known at Siena, the Fathers saw their liberty directly menaced by it. All magistrates and officials in the Sienese territory were to take oath of allegiance to the Pope, a proceeding which left the Council entirely at the Pope's mercy. Moreover, the members of the Council were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the Pope's officers. The whole tenor of the articles of agreement was insulting to the Council, and gave manifest signs of the Pope's ill-will. In its formal language the officials of the Curia were named before the members of the Council.[1] The energy of the Council was forthwith turned to negotiate with the Sienese for a safe-conduct which would give them greater security from the Pope. Meanwhile Martin V. showed himself more decidedly hostile, and his presidents used all efforts to weaken the Conciliar party. Letters from Rome poured in to Siena; tempting promises of promotion were held out to those who showed signs of wavering.

Contest about safe-conduct. August—November, 1423.

The reforming party felt that something must be done. They settled the matter of the safe-conduct, and agreed to pass some decrees on which there could be no difference of opinion. On November 6 a session of the Council was held, which declared that the work of reform must begin from the foundation of the faith, and consequently condemned the errors of Wyclif and Hus, denounced the partisans of Peter de Luna, approved of negotiations for union with the Greek Church, and exhorted all Christian men to root out heresy wherever they found it. After this the reforming party urged that the work left unachieved at Constance should be resumed, and the French

Intrigues of the Curial party.

[1] 'In omnibus officiales cameræ et sequentes eamdem, *in quorum numero sunt etiam lenones et meretrices*, patribus ad concilium venientibus præponuntur,' says John of Ragusa (*Mon. Con.*, i., 20).

nation put forward a memorandum sketching a plan of reform according to the lines laid down at Constance. The Curial party resolved on resistance, and the small numbers present at Siena rendered personal pressure tolerably easy. John of Ragusa, though wishing to make the Council seem as numerous as possible, can only count two cardinals and twenty-five mitred prelates, as representatives of the higher clergy,[1] at the session on November 6. The Curial party thought it best to throw the machinery of the nations into confusion. They managed to cause disputed elections to the office of president both in the French and in the Italian nation in the month of January, 1424. The Papal legates offered their services to the French to judge in this dispute. The French answered that, on matters concerning a nation in the Council, no one, not even the Pope, could judge but the Council itself: they asked the presidents to summon a congregation for the purpose. The presidents refused, whereupon the French called the other nations together on January 10, and afterwards drew up their grievances in the shape of a protest, which they lodged with the legates. Meanwhile the legates were busily engaged in strengthening their party within each nation, so as to prevent any possibility of unanimity. While thus the nations were divided, the legates steadily pursued the dissolution of the Council and, as a first step towards this, urged the appointment of deputies to fix the meeting place of the next Council. This question in itself aroused antagonism. The French wished the future Council to be held in France. This excited the national jealousy of the Germans and English. The Curial party openly avowed that they never wished to see another Council at all, and opposed the decrees of Constance.

There were hopes, however, of renewed concord when, on February 12, the Archbishop of Rouen and the ambassadors of the University of Paris arrived at Siena. They inter-

[1] *Mon. Concil.*, i., 27: he adds: 'Cum multitudine doctorum et magistrorum et ceterorum copiosa'; but this is in a letter written to urge the Bishop of Arras to attend the Council.

posed to heal the dissension among the French, and the Archbishop of Rouen was by a compromise elected to the office of president of the French nation. The compromise was, however, fatal. The Archbishop of Rouen had been already won over by the legates, and the ambassadors of the University had a greater desire to go to Rome and seek favours for themselves than stay at Siena and watch over the reformation of the Church. On February 19 deputies from all the nations agreed in choosing Basel as the meeting place for the next Council to be held in seven years.

The reformers abandoned by the French. February, 1424.

The dissolution of the Council was now felt to be imminent. Only a few zealous reformers had hopes of further business, and they were aided by the citizens of Siena, who did not see why they should not enjoy the same luck as Constance and reap a golden harvest for some years to come. But Martin V. knew how to address rebellious citizens. He sternly bade them 'not to put their sickle into another's sheaves, nor think that General Councils were held or dissolved to please them or fill their pockets'.[1] Still the Sienese were resolved to make a last attempt, and on February 20 laid the Pope's letters before the nations, and shut their gates to prevent the desertions which were thinning the Council's ranks. But the reformers were not strong enough to accept the citizens' help; the Council sent to request the gates to be opened.

Meanwhile the legates were ready to dissolve the Council, the reformers were anxious to continue their work. At last, on March 7, the legates, taking advantage of the solitude produced by the festivities of the Carnival, posted on the door of the cathedral a decree of the dissolution of the Council, which had been secretly drawn up on February 26, and prohibited all from attempting to continue it. On the same day they hastily left Siena for Florence. Those who remained were too few

Dissolution of the Council of Siena. March, 1424.

[1] Letter in Raynaldus, 1423, § 11; also in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 50.

to hope to accomplish anything. Thomas, Abbot of Paisley, who was a member of the French nation, published an energetic protest against the dissolution, which was joined by a few other zealous reformers. Then on March 8 they held a meeting in which they decided that, to avoid scandal to the Church, and danger to themselves on account of the nearness of the Papal power, it was better to depart quietly. The Council of Siena came rapidly to an end, and Martin V. could plead the smallness of its numbers, its seditious conduct with the Sienese burghers, and its own internal disorders, as reasons for its dissolution. Really the Council of Siena followed too soon upon that of Constance. The position of affairs had not materially changed. The Pope had not yet recovered his normal position in Italy, and those who had been at Constance were not prepared to undertake the labours of a second Council, when they had nothing to give them any hopes of success. What was impossible with the help of Sigismund was not likely to be more possible in the face of Martin V.'s determined resistance.

Reform constitution of Martin V. 1425.

Martin V. judged it wise, however, to make some promises of reform. As the Council had been too full of disturbance to admit of any progress in the matter, he promised to undertake a reform of the Curia, and nominated two Cardinals as commissioners to gather evidence. The results of Martin V.'s deliberations were embodied in a constitution, published on May 16, 1425. It reads as though it were the Pope's retaliation on the attempt made at Constance to constitute the Cardinals as an official aristocracy which was to direct the Pope's actions. Martin V. provided for decorous and good living on the part of the Cardinals, forbade them to exercise the position of protectors of the interests of kings or princes at the Papal Court, or to receive money as protectors for monastic orders; they were not to appear in the streets with a larger retinue than twenty attendants; they were, if possible, to live near the churches whence they took their titles, and were to restore the dilapidated buildings and see to the proper per-

formance of divine service. Similarly the duties of the protonotaries and abbreviators of the Papal chancery were defined and regulated. Archbishops, bishops, and abbots were ordered to keep strict residence, and hold provincial synods three times each year for the redress of abuses; all oppressive exactions on the part of ordinaries were forbidden, and propriety of life was enjoined. Finally the Pope withdrew many of his rights of reservation as a favour to the ordinaries as patrons.[1]

Martin V. considered that he had now amply fulfilled all that reformers could require at his hands, and could look around him with greater assurance. He was free for seven years from the troubles of a Council, and could turn his attention to the object he had most at heart, the recovery of the States of the Church, which Alfonso's withdrawal from Naples had rendered a practicable measure. Fortune favoured him in this respect beyond his hopes. The desperate resistance which Aquila continued to offer to Braccio encouraged Sforza to march to its relief. On his way there, in January, 1424, finding some difficulty in crossing the river Pescara, which was swollen by the wind and tide, he rode into the water to encourage his men. Seeing one of his squires swept off his horse, Sforza hastened to his assistance; but, losing his balance in attempting to save the drowning man, he was weighed down by his heavy armour: twice his hands were seen to wave above the flood, then he disappeared. His body was swept out to sea, and was never found. Thus died Sforza at the age of fifty-four, one of the most notable men in Italian history. His death tells us the secret of his power. He died in the performance of an act of chivalrous generosity to a comrade. However tortuous he might be in political relations, to his soldiers he was frank and genial; they loved him, and knew that their lives and fortunes were as dear to Sforza as his own.

Death of Sforza. January, 1424.

[1] This important document is printed by Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen und Culturgeschichte* (1863), vol. ii., p. 335.

Death of Braccio. June, 1424.

Nor did the more accomplished Braccio long survive his sturdy rival. In spite of the withdrawal of Sforza's troops after their leader's death, Aquila still held out. As its possession was regarded as the key to the possession of Naples, Martin V. was eager to raise troops for its relief. He found it as easy to arouse the jealousy of the Duke of Milan against Braccio as against Alfonso; and in May a joint army of Naples, Milan, and Pope advanced to the relief of Aquila. Braccio scorned to take advantage of his enemies as they crossed the mountain ridge that led to the town; though their forces were superior to his own, he preferred to meet them in the open field. An unexpected sortie of the Aquilans threw Braccio's army into confusion. As he rode around exhorting his men to form afresh and renew the fight, a Perugian exile forced his way through the throng, and with the cry, 'Down with the oppressor of his country!' wounded Braccio in the throat. On the fall of their leader the soldiers of Braccio gave way, and the siege of Aquila was raised, June 2. Braccio's haughty spirit would not survive defeat; for three days he lay without eating or speaking till he died. Unlike Sforza, he had no grown-up son to inherit his glory. His shattered army rapidly dispersed upon his death. His body was carried to Rome, and was buried as that of an excommunicated man in unconsecrated ground before the Church of S. Lorenzo.

Martin V. recovers the States of the Church. 1424-30.

Martin V. reaped the full benefit of Braccio's death. On July 29 Perugia opened its gates to the Pope, and the other cities in Braccio's dominions soon followed its example. Martin found himself in undisputed possession of the Papal States. This was a great point to have gained, and Martin had won his triumph by his astute and cautious, if unscrupulous, policy. He had not hesitated to plunge Naples into war, and had trusted to his own acuteness to fish in troubled waters. Fortune had favoured him beyond what he could expect, and the only further difficulty that beset him was a rising of Bologna in

1429, which was put down, though not without a stubborn struggle, by Carlo Malatesta. From that time he set himself with renewed zeal and statesmanlike care to organise the restoration of law and order in the Roman territory and the rest of the Papal possessions. When we look back upon the wild confusion that he found at his accession we must recognise in Martin V.'s pontificate traces of energy and administrative capacity which have been left unrecorded by the annals of the time.[1] The slow and steady enforcement of order and justice is passed by unnoticed, while discord and anarchy are rarely without a chronicler. It is the great merit of Martin V. that he won back from confusion, and reduced to obedience and order, the disorganised States of the Church.

The policy of Martin V. was to bring under one jurisdiction separate communities, with their existing rights and privileges, and so to establish a central monarchy on which they all peaceably depended. It was the misfortune of Martin V. that his work was thrown away by the wrongheadedness of his successor, and so left no lasting results. Still, Martin V. deserves high praise as a successful statesman, though even here he displayed the spirit of a Roman noble rather than of the Head of the Church. The elevation of the Colonna family was his constant aim, and he left to his successors a conspicuous example of nepotism. His brothers and sisters were enriched at the expense of the Church, and their aggrandisement had the disastrous result that it intensified the long-standing feud between the Colonna and the Orsini, and led to a reaction upon Martin's death. So far did Martin V. identify himself with his family that, in defiance of the traditions of his office, he took up his abode in the Colonna Palace by the Church of SS. Apostoli, regarding himself as more secure amongst the retainers of his house.

[1] Infessura, *Diarium*, Mur., III., part ii., 1112: 'Morti che furono questi rimase lo Papa senza altri impacci e mantenne nel suo tempo pace e dovizia'.

The same year that saw the deaths of Sforza and Braccio freed Martin V. from another enemy. In November, 1424, died Benedict XIII., worn out by extreme old age. In his retirement at Peniscola he had been powerless either for good or ill. Yet the existence of an anti-Pope was hurtful to the Papal dignity, and Alfonso's hostility to Martin V. threatened to give him troublesome importance. Benedict's death might seem to end the Schism, but one of the last acts of the obstinate old man was the creation of four new cardinals. For a time his death was kept secret till Alfonso's desires were known; at length in June, 1425, three of Benedict's cardinals elected a new Pope, Gil de Munion, canon of Barcelona, who took the title of Clement VIII. But schism when once it begins is contagious. Another of Benedict's cardinals,[1] a Frenchman, Jean Carrer, who was absent at the time and received no notice, elected for himself another Pope, who took the title of Benedict XIV. Martin was desirous of getting rid of these pretenders, and sent one of his cardinals, brother of the Count de Foix, to negotiate with Alfonso. But Alfonso refused him entrance into his kingdom, and ordered Clement VIII. to be crowned in Peniscola. Martin summoned Alfonso to Rome to answer for his conduct. Alfonso saw that nothing was to be gained by isolation from the rest of Europe. Time mollified his wrath at the loss of Naples, and in his hopes for the future it was better to have the Pope for his friend than for his foe. The Cardinal de Foix carried on his negotiations with wise moderation, and was helped by one of the King's counsellors, Alfonso Borgia. In the autumn of 1427 Alfonso V. received the Pope's legate, agreed to recognise Martin, and accept his good offices to settle disputes between himself and Giovanna II. In July, 1429, Munion laid aside his papal trappings, submitted to Martin, and received the melancholy

Death of Benedict XIII. 1424.

End of the anti-Popes. 1429.

[1] See Carrer's letter to the Count of Armagnac announcing his election of Benedict XIV., in Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1714. The letter is written with all possible seriousness in the most approved style.

post of Bishop of Majorca. The good offices of Alfonso Borgia were warmly recognised both by Alfonso V. and Martin V., and this ending of the Schism had for its abiding consequence in the future the introduction of the Borgia family to the Papal Court, where they were destined to play an important part. The Pope of Jean Carrer was of course a ridiculous phantom, and in 1432 the Count of Armagnac ordered Carrer, who was still obstinate, to be made prisoner and handed over to Martin V.[1]

[1] Letter in Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1748.

CHAPTER II.

MARTIN V. AND THE PAPAL RESTORATION. BEGINNINGS OF EUGENIUS IV.

1425—1432.

As Martin V. felt more sure of his position in Italy, and saw the traces of the Schism disappear in the outward organisation of the Church, he was anxious also to wipe away the anti-papal legislation which in France and England had followed on the confusion caused by the Schism of the Papacy.

Martin V. and France. 1420-1425.

In France Martin V. easily succeeded in overthrowing the attempt to establish the liberties of the national Church on the basis of royal edicts. Charles VI. had issued in 1418 ordinances forbidding money to be exported from the kingdom for the payment of annates or other demands of the Court of Rome, and had confirmed the ancient liberties of the Gallican Church as regarded freedom of election to ecclesiastical offices. In February, 1422, he had further forbidden appeals to Rome in contempt of the ordinances. But before the end of the year Charles VI. was dead, and the confusion in France was still further increased by the English claims to the succession. The youthful Charles VII. was hard pressed, and wished to gain the Pope's support. In February, 1425, he issued a decree re-establishing the Papal power, as regarded the collation to benefices and all exercise of jurisdiction, on the same footing as it had been in the days of Clement VII. and

Benedict XIII.[1] The Parlement, it is true, protested and refused to register the decree. The Pope, on his part, granted an indemnity for what had been done in the past. All the reforming efforts of the University of Paris and its followers were for the time undone.

In England Martin V. was not so successful. In 1421 he wrote to Henry V. and exhorted him to lose no time in abolishing the prohibitions of his predecessors (the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire) on the due exercise of the Papal rights. Next year, on the accession of King Henry VI., he wrote still more pressingly to the Council of Regency.[2] When nothing was done, he directed his anger against Henry Chichele, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Chichele in 1423 proclaimed indulgences to all who in that year made pilgrimage to Canterbury. Martin indignantly forbade this assumption of Papal rights by a subordinate; 'as the fallen angels wished to set up in the earth their seat against the Creator, so have these presumptuous men endeavoured to raise a false tabernacle of salvation against the apostolic seat and the authority of the Roman Pontiff, to whom only has God granted this power'.[3] It was long since an English archbishop had heard such language from a Pope; but Chichele was not a man of sufficient courage to remonstrate. He withdrew his proclamation, and Martin V. had struck a decided blow against the independence of the English episcopate.

Martin V. reproves Archbishop Chichele. 1423.

The restored Papacy owed a debt of gratitude to Henry of Winchester for his good offices as mediator at Constance, and immediately after his election, Martin V. nominated him Cardinal. Chichele protested against this step as likely to lead to inconveniences; and Henry V., declaring that he would rather see his uncle invested with the crown than with a cardinal's hat, forbade his acceptance of the proffered dignity. When the

Martin V. makes Henry Beaufort cardinal and legate. 1426-27.

[1] *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ch. xxii., § 19.

[2] Letters in Raynaldus, *sub annis*.

[3] Raynaldus, 1423, § 21.

strong hand of Henry V. was gone, Beaufort was again nominated Cardinal on May 24, 1426, no longer from motives of gratitude, but because the Pope needed his help. In February, 1427, he was further appointed Papal legate for the purpose of carrying on war against the Hussites. But the Pope still pursued his main object, and in a letter to the Bishop of Winchester denounced still more strongly the execrable statute of Præmunire by which the King of England disposed of the affairs of the Church as though himself, and not the Pope, were the divinely appointed Vicar of Christ. He bade him remember the glorious example of S. Thomas of Canterbury, who did not hesitate to offer himself as a sacrifice on behalf of the liberties of the Church.[1] He bade him urge the abolition of this statute on the Council, on Parliament, and on the clergy, that they may preach about it to the people; and he asked to be informed what steps were taken in compliance with his commands. He wrote also in the same strain to the University of Oxford. Indeed, so deeply did Martin V. resent the ecclesiastical attitude of England that he said in a consistory, 'Amongst Christians no States have made ordinances contrary to the liberties of the Church save England and Venice'.[2] Martin's instincts taught him truly, and he did his utmost to blunt the edge of the weapon that a century later was to sever the connexion between the English Church and the Papacy.

Martin V. humbles Archbishop Chichele. 1427-28.

Again Martin V. wrote haughtily to Chichele, bidding him and the Archbishop of York set aside the Statutes of Provisors and recognise the Papal right to dispose of benefices in England. Chichele humbly replied that he was the only person in England who was willing to broach the subject; and it was hard that he should be specially visited by the Pope's displeasure for what he

[1] Raynaldus, 1426, § 19: 'Illius gloriosissimi martyris B. Thomæ olim Cantuariensis archiepiscopi successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decertans statuta holocaustum se offerens Deo, pro libertate ecclesiastica occubuit'. The Pope stretches a point in making Thomas a martyr for his resistance to the Constitutions of Clarendon.

[2] *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, ii., 443.

could not help. Martin V. retorted by issuing letters to suspend Chichele from his office as legate—a blow against the privileges and independence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, who since the days of Stephen Langton had been recognised as the Pope's ordinary legate (*legatus natus*) in England. Chichele so far roused himself as to appeal to a future Council against this encroachment. The Pope's letters were seized by royal authority, and the suspension did not take effect. But Chichele was a timid man, and the condition of affairs in England made him shrink from a breach with the Pope. The Lollards were suppressed but not subdued, and a strong antihierarchical feeling simmered amongst the people. In the distracted state of the kingdom, little help was to be gained from the royal power, and Chichele feared the consequences of an interdict. He called to his help the bishops, the University of Oxford, and several temporal lords, who addressed letters to the Pope, bearing testimony to Chichele's zeal for the Church, and begging the Pope to be reconciled to him. To Chichele's letters pleading his excuses, the Pope still answered that the only excuse that he could make was active resistance to the obnoxious statutes. At length Chichele, in 1428, appeared before the Commons, accompanied by the Archbishop of York and other bishops, and with tears in his eyes pointed out the dangers in which the Church and kingdom were placed by their opposition to the Pope's demands. Parliament was unmoved either by Martin's letters or by Chichele's half-hearted pleadings. They only petitioned the Pope to restore the Archbishop to his favour. The King wrote in the same sense, and the matter was allowed to drop. Martin V. might console himself with the reflection that, if he had failed to carry his point and abolish the hateful statutes, he had at least succeeded in humiliating the English episcopate by treating them as creatures of his own.[1]

In September, 1428, Beaufort made his first appearance in

[1] The correspondence between Martin V. and Chichele is given partly in Raynaldus, partly in Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii., 471-486.

England since his elevation to the Cardinalate, and a protest in the King's name was issued against his exercise of any legatine authority within the realm. Next year the question was raised whether Beaufort, being a Cardinal, was justified in officiating as Bishop of Winchester and prelate of the Order of the Garter: the King's council advised Beaufort to waive his right. Meanwhile Beaufort was allowed to gather troops for a crusade against the Hussites. But the English statesman and the Papal councillor came into collision; and the troops which Beaufort had gathered for a crusade in Bohemia were turned against France. Beaufort pleaded to the Pope the lame excuse that he had not ventured to disobey the King's commands in this matter; nor would the soldiers have obeyed him if he had done so.[1] Though treacherous, the action of Beaufort was popular. He was allowed, though a Cardinal, to take his seat at the King's council, except only when matters were under discussion which concerned the Church of Rome. Really, Beaufort was too much absorbed in deadly personal rivalry with Gloucester to be of any service to the Pope in furthering his attempt to overthrow the liberties of the English Church.

Beaufort's crusade against the Hussites. 1429.

But the Papacy has never in its history gained so much by definite victories as it has by steady persistency. It was always prepared to take advantage of the internal weakness of any kingdom, and to advance pretensions at times when they were not likely to be resolutely disavowed. In time they might be heard of again, and when reasserted could at least claim the prestige of some antiquity. By his treatment of Archbishop Chichele, and by his grant of legatine powers to Beaufort, Martin V. exercised a more direct authority over the machinery of the English Church than had been permitted to any Pope since the days of Innocent III. The Church was weak in its hold on the affections of the people, and when the kingly

Results of Martin V.'s policy toward's England.

[1] Raynaldus, 1429, 17.

office was in abeyance, the Church, robbed of its protector, was too feeble to offer any serious resistance to the Papacy. Martin V. used his opportunity dexterously, and his successors had no reason to complain of the independent spirit of English bishops.

Architectural works of Martin V.

But besides being an ecclesiastic, Martin V. had the sentiments of a Roman noble. He wished to restore his native city to some part of her old glory, and laboured so assiduously at the work of restoration that a grateful people hailed him as 'Father of his country'. He rebuilt the tottering portico of S. Peter's and proceeded to adorn and repair the ruined basilicas of the city. In the Church of S. John Lateran, which had been destroyed by fire in 1308, and was slowly rising from its ruins, he laid down the mosaic pavement which still exists, and built up the roof. He restored the Basilica of the SS. Apostoli. His example told upon the Cardinals, and he urged on them to undertake the care of the churches from which they took their titles.[1] His pontificate marks the beginning of an era of architectural adornment of the City of Rome.

Martin V. and his Cardinals.

The only part of the work of the reformation of the Church which Martin V. showed any wish to carry into effect was that concerning the Cardinals. The Papal absolutism over all bishops, which Martin V. desired to establish, aimed at the reduction of the power of the ecclesiastical aristocracy which surrounded the Pope's person, and the rules for the conduct of the Cardinals issued in 1424 were not meant to be mere waste paper. Martin V. succeeded in reducing the power of the Cardinals; he paid little heed to their advice, and they were so afraid of him that they stammered like awkward children in his presence.[2]

[1] Döllinger, *Beiträge*, ii., 336.

[2] Report of the Ambassador of the Teutonic knights in Voigt's *Stimmen aus Romin*, Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, vol. iv., 74: 'Sie dürfen wider den Papst nicht reden ausser was er gerne hört; denn der Papst hat die Cardinäle alle so unterdrückt, dass sie vor ihm nicht anders sprechen, als wie er es gerne will, und werden vor ihm redend roth und bleich'.

Sometimes he even excluded them altogether. In 1429 he retired from Rome to Ferentino before a pestilence, and forbade any of the Cardinals to follow him.

Court of Martin V.

Yet all Martin V.'s injunctions could not purge the Curia from the charge of corruption. Money was necessary for the Pope; and Martin, if he laid aside the grosser forms of extortion, still demanded money on all fair pretexts. The ambassadors at the Papal Court found it necessary for the conduct of the business to propitiate the Pope by handsome presents on the great festivals of the Church. If any business was to be done, the attention of the Pope and his officials had to be arrested by some valuable gift. Yet Martin showed a care in making ecclesiastical appointments which had not been seen in the Popes for the last half-century. He did not make his appointments rashly, but inquired about the capacities of the different candidates and the special needs of the districts which they aspired to serve. Even so, Martin V. was not always to be trusted. He seemed to delight in humbling bishops before him. He deposed Bishop Anselm of Augsburg simply because the civic authorities quarrelled with him. In England he conferred on a nephew of his own, aged fourteen, the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury. Yet Martin was never weary of uttering noble sentiments to the Cardinals and those around him: no word was so often on his lips as 'justice'. He would often exclaim to his Cardinals, 'Love justice, ye who judge the earth'.[1]

Death of Martin V. February, 1431.

In these peaceful works of internal reform and organisation Martin V. passed his last years, disturbed only by the thought that the time was drawing near for summoning the promised Council at Basel. Moreover, there was little hope of avoiding it, for the religious conflict in Bohemia had waxed so fierce that it had long been the subject of greatest interest in the politics of Europe.

[1] Platina: 'Ejus sermo plenus sententiis erat. Excidebat nullum nomen tam crebro quam justitiæ nomen. Ad suos persæpe conversus his verbis utebatur, Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram.'

Army after army of the orthodox had been routed by the Bohemian heretics. Papal legates had in vain raised troops and conducted them to battle. Germany was hopelessly exhausted, and when force had failed, men looked anxiously to see if deliberation could again avail. Martin V. ordered the legate in Bohemia, Giuliano Cesarini, to convoke a Council at Basel in 1431. But he was not to see its beginning: he was suddenly struck by apoplexy, and died on February 20, 1431. He was buried in the Church of S. John Lateran, where his recumbent effigy in brass still adorns his tomb.

Character of Martin V.

Martin V. was a wise, cautious, and prudent Pope. He received the Papacy discredited and homeless: he succeeded in establishing it firmly in its old capital, recovering its lost possessions, and restoring some of its old prestige in Europe. This he did by moderation and common-sense, combined with a genuine administrative capacity. He was not a brilliant man, but the times did not require brilliancy. He was not personally popular, for he did not much care for the regard or sympathy of those around him, but kept his own counsel and went his own way. He was reserved, and had great self-command. When the news of a brother's unexpected death was brought to him early one morning, he composed himself and said mass as usual. He did not care for men's good opinion, but devoted himself energetically to the details of business. He did not care to do anything splendid, so much as to do all things securely. Yet he rescued the Papacy from its fallen condition and laid the foundations for its future power. His strong-willed and arbitrary dealings with other bishops did much to break down the strength of national feeling in ecclesiastical matters which had been displayed at Constance. He was resolved to make the bishops feel their impotence before the Pope; and the political weakness of European States enabled him to go far in breaking down the machinery of the national Churches, and asserting for the Papacy a supreme control in all ecclesiastical matters.

In this way he may be regarded as the founder of the theory of Papal omnipotence which is embodied in modern Ultramontanism. Yet Martin V. succeeded rather through the weakness of Europe than through his own strength. He did not awaken suspicion by large schemes, but pursued a quiet policy which was dictated by the existing needs of the Papacy, and was capable of great extension in the future. Without being a great man, he was an extremely sagacious statesman. He had none of the noble and heroic qualities which would have enabled him to set up the Papacy once more as the exponent of the religious aspirations of Europe; but he brought it into accordance with the politics of his time and made it again powerful and respected. There were two opinions in his own days respecting the character of Martin V. Those who had waited anxiously for a thorough reformation of the Church looked sadly on Martin's shortcomings and accused him of avarice and self-seeking. Those who regarded his career as a temporal ruler, extolled him for his practical virtues, and the epitaph on his tomb called him with some truth, 'Temporum suorum felicitas,' the happiness of his times.[1] At the present day we may be permitted to combine these two opposite judgments, and may praise him for what he did while regretting that he

[1] These two views are expressed in the two lives in Muratori, III., part ii., 859. One says: 'Martinus vero avarissimus fuit; miserabiliter in palatio apud sanctos Apostolos vixit'. The other says: 'Cujus quidem mors non modo populum Romanum sed universos Christi fideles magno dolore confecit'. The following stanzas from a Sapphic ode written by Gregorio Correr, great-nephew of Gregory XII., and cousin once removed of Eugenius IV., show how Martin's qualities were regarded by his friends. The ode is published from a MS. in the Museo Correr in Venice by Reumont, *Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte*, iv., 302:—

'Prodiit notis latebris latronum
Turba, securum patet iter, arces
Jam licet sacras simul et beatum
Visere Tibrim.

'Salve o sacratæ pater urbis, atque
Gentium terror, decus et Latini
Nominis spesque; ut maneas precamur
Summe sacerdos.'

lacked the elevation of mind necessary to enable him to seize the splendid opportunity offered him of doing more.

After the funeral of Martin V., the fourteen Cardinals who were in Rome lost no time in entering into conclave in the Church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. They were still smarting at the recollection of the hard yoke of Martin V., and their one desire was to give themselves an easy master and escape the indignities which they had so long endured. To secure this end they had recourse to the method, which the Schism had introduced, of drawing up rules for the conduct of the future Pope, which every Cardinal signed before proceeding to the election. Each promised, if he were elected Pope, to issue a Bull within three days of his coronation, declaring that he would reform the Roman Curia, would further the work of the approaching Council, would appoint Cardinals according to the decrees of Constance, would allow his Cardinals freedom of speech, and would respect their advice, give them their accustomed revenues, abstain from seizing their goods at death, and consult them about the disposal of the government of the Papal States. We see from these provisions how the Cardinals resented the insignificance to which Martin V. had consigned them. To reverse his treatment of themselves they were willing to reverse his entire policy and bind the future Pope to accept in some form the Council and the cause of ecclesiastical reform. They entered the Conclave on March 1, and spent the next day in drawing up this instrument for their own protection. On March 3 they proceeded to vote, and on the first scrutiny Gabriel Condulmier, a Venetian, was unanimously elected. Others had been mentioned, such as Giuliano Cesarini, the energetic legate in Bohemia, and Antonio Casino, Bishop of Siena. But in their prevailing temper, the Cardinals determined that it was best to have a harmless nonentity, and all were unanimous that Condulmier answered best to that description.

Election of Gabriel Condulmier, Eugenius IV. March 3, 1431.

Previous life of Condulmier.

Gabriel Condulmier, who took the name of Eugenius IV., was a Venetian, sprung from a wealthy but not noble family. His father died when he was young; and Gabriel, seized with religious enthusiasm, distributed his wealth, 20,000 ducats, among the poor, and resolved to seek his riches in another world. So great was his ardour that he infected with it his cousin, Antonio Correr, and both entered the monastery of S. Giorgio d'Alga in Venice. There the two friends remained simple brothers of the order, till Antonio's uncle was unexpectedly elected Pope Gregory XII. As usual, the Papal uncle wished to promote his nephew; but Antonio refused to leave his monastery unless he were accompanied by his friend Condulmier. Gregory XII. made his nephew Bishop of Bologna, and Condulmier Bishop of Siena. He afterwards prepared the way for his own downfall by insisting on elevating both to the dignity of Cardinals. But the diminution of Gregory's obedience gave them small scope for their activity; they both went to Constance and were ranked among the Cardinals of the united Church. Their long friendship was at last interrupted by jealousy. Correr could not endure his friend's elevation to the Papacy; he left him, and at the Council of Basel was one of his bitterest opponents. Martin V. appointed Condulmier to be legate in Bologna, where he showed his capacity by putting down a rebellion of the city. When elected to the Papacy at the early age of forty-seven he was regarded as a man of high religious character, without much knowledge of the world or political capacity. The Cardinals considered him to be an excellent appointment for their purpose. Tall and of a commanding figure and pleasant face, he would be admirably suited for public appearances. His reputation for piety would satisfy the reforming party; his known liberality to the poor would make him popular in Rome; his assumed lack of strong character and of personal ambition would assure to the Cardinals the freedom and consideration after which they pined. He was in no way a distinguished man,

and in an age when learning was becoming more and more respected, he was singularly uncultivated. His early years were spent in the performance of formal acts of piety, and his one literary achievement was that he wrote with his own hand a breviary, which he always continued to use when he became Pope. The absence of any decided qualities in Eugenius IV. seems to have been so marked that miraculous agency was called in to explain his unexpected elevation. A story, which he himself was fond of telling in latter years,[1] found ready credence. When he was a simple monk at Venice, he took his turn to act as porter at the monastery gate. One day a hermit came and was kindly welcomed by Condulmier, who accompanied him into the church and joined in his devotions. As they returned, the hermit said, 'You will be made Cardinal, and then Pope; in your pontificate you will suffer much adversity'. Then he departed, and was seen no more.

Eugenius IV. was faithful to his promise before election, and on the day of his coronation, March 11, confirmed the document which he had signed in conclave. He also showed signs of a desire to reform the abuses of the Papal Court. His first act was to cut off a source of exaction. The customary letters announcing his election were given for transmission to the ambassadors of the various states, instead of being sent by Papal nuncios, who expected large donations for their service.[2]

Eugenius IV. gives earnest of a desire to reform.

But the first steps of Eugenius IV. in the conduct of affairs showed an absence of wisdom and an unreasoning ferocity. Martin V. had been careful to secure the interests of his own relatives. His brother Lorenzo had been made Count of Alba and Celano in the Abruzzi, and his brother Giordano Duke

Quarrel of Eugenius IV. with the Colonna.

[1] Vespasiano says: 'Questo diceva spesso papa Eugenio *a chi lo voleva udire*'. His words seem to suggest that those around him had a horror of the story, with which they were regaled too often.

[2] The King of Castile did not understand this, and complained of omission as a slight. Eugenius wrote to explain; see Raynaldus, 1431, No. 9.

of Amalfi and Venosa, Prince of Salerno. Both of them died before the Pope, but their places were taken by the sons of Lorenzo—Antonio, who became Prince of Salerno; Odoardo, who inherited Celano and Marsi; and Prospero, who was Cardinal at the early age of twenty-two. Martin V. had lived by the Church of SS. Apostoli in a house of moderate pretensions, as the Vatican was too ruinous for occupation; his nephews had a palace hard by. It was natural for a new Pope to look with some suspicion on the favourites of his predecessor. But at first all went well between the Colonna and Eugenius IV. The Castle of S. Angelo was given up to the Pope and a considerable amount of treasure which Martin V. had left behind him. But Eugenius IV. soon became suspicious. The towns in the Papal States grew rebellious when they felt that Martin V.'s strong hand was relaxed, and Eugenius needed money and soldiers to reduce them to obedience. He suspected that the Papal nephews had vast stores of treasure secreted, and resolved by a bold stroke to seize it for himself. Stefano Colonna, head of the Palestrina branch of the family and at variance with the elder branch, was sent to seize the Bishop of Tivoli, Martin's Vice-Chamberlain, whom he dragged ignominiously through the streets. Eugenius IV. angrily rebuked him for his unnecessary violence, and so alienated his wavering loyalty. At the same time Eugenius demanded of Antonio Colonna that he should give up all the possessions in the Papal States with which his uncle had endowed him, Genazano, Soriano, S. Marino, and other fortresses were Eugenius imagined that the Papal treasures lay hid. Antonio loudly declared that this was a plot of the Orsini in their hereditary hatred of the Colonna; he denounced the Pope as lending himself to their schemes, and left Rome hastily to raise forces. He was soon followed by Stefano Colonna, by the Cardinal Prospero, and the other adherents of the family. Gathering their troops, the Colonna attacked the possessions of the Orsini and laid waste the country up to the walls of Rome.

Eugenius IV., like Urban VI., had been unexpectedly raised to a position for which his narrowness and inexperience rendered him unfit. Trusting to the general excellence of his intentions and exulting in the plenitude of his new authority, he acted on the first impulse, and only grew more determined when he met with opposition.[1] He tortured the luckless Bishop of Tivoli almost to death in his prison. He ordered the partisans of the Colonna in Rome to be arrested, and over two hundred Roman citizens were put to death on various charges. Stefano Colonna advanced against Rome, seized the Porta Appia, on April 23, and fought his way through the streets as far as the Piazza of S. Marco. But the people did not rise on his side as he had expected; the Pope's troops were still strong enough to drive back their assailants. Stefano Colonna could not succeed in getting hold of the city; but he kept the Appian gate, laid waste the Campagna, and threatened the city with famine. Eugenius IV. retaliated by ordering the destruction of the Colonna palaces, even that of Martin V., and the houses of their adherents, and on May 18 issued a decree depriving them of all their possessions. The old times of savage warfare between the Roman nobles were again brought back.

The Colonna take arms against the Pope. April, 1431

The contest might long have raged, to the destruction of the new-born prosperity of the Roman city, had not Florence, Venice, and Naples sent troops to aid the Pope. But the Neapolitan forces under Caldora proved a feeble help, for they took money from Antonio Colonna, and assumed an ambiguous attitude. In Rome the confession of a conspiracy to seize the Castle of S. Angelo and expel the Pope was extorted from a luckless friar, and gave rise to fresh prosecutions and imprisonments. Amid these agitations Eugenius IV. was stricken by paralysis, which was put down to the results of poison administered in the interests of the Colonna. Sickness brought reflection;

Peace with the Colonna. September, 1431.

[1] Billius (Mur., xix., 143) calls him: 'Sui ipsius fidentissimus quodcunque propositum cepisset'.

and the Colonnesi on their side saw that the chances of war were going against them, since Venice and Florence were determined to support Eugenius, whose help they needed against the growing power of the Duke of Milan. Accordingly, on September 22 peace was made between the Pope and Antonio Colonna, who paid 75,000 ducats and resigned the castles which he held in the Papal States. Giovanna of Naples deprived him also of his principality of Salerno. The relatives of Martin V. fell back to their former position. But Eugenius had gained by violence, disorder, bloodshed, and persecution an end which might have been reached equally well by a little patience and tact.

The disturbances in the States of the Church gradually settled down, and Eugenius in September was anxiously awaiting the coming of Sigismund to Italy for the purpose of assuming the Imperial crown. On his dealings with Sigismund depended his chance of freeing himself from the Council, which had begun to assemble at Basel, and whose proceedings were such as to cause him some anxiety.

CHAPTER III.

BOHEMIA AND THE HUSSITE WARS.

1418—1431

THE fortunes of Sigismund had not been prosperous since his departure from Constance. The glories of the revived empire which had floated before his eyes soon began to fade away. Troubles in his ancestral states occupied all his attention, and prevented him from aspiring to be the arbiter of the affairs of Europe. His dignified position at Constance, as Protector of the Council that was to regulate the future of the Church, entailed on him nothing but disappointment. It was easy for the Council to burn Hus and to condemn his doctrines; but the Bohemian people were not convinced by either of these proceedings, and cherished a bitter feeling of Sigismund's perfidy. He had invited Hus to the Council, and then had abandoned him; he had inflicted a disgrace on their national honour which the Bohemians could never forgive. The decrees of the Council found little respect in Bohemia, and a league was formed among the Bohemian nobles to maintain freedom of preaching. The teaching of Jakubek of Mies, concerning the necessity of receiving the communion under both kinds, gave an outward symbol to the new beliefs, and the chalice became the distinctive badge of the Bohemian reformers. The Council in vain summoned Wenzel to answer for his neglect of its monitions; in vain it called on Sigismund to give effect to its decrees by force of arms. Sigismund knew the difficulties of such an attempt, and as

Failure of the Council of Constance to pacify Bohemia.

heir to the Bohemian kingdom did not choose to draw upon himself any further hatred from the Bohemian people.

Wenzel declares against the Hussites. 1418.

Before the election of a new Pope, the Bohemians could still denounce the arbitrary proceedings of the Council, and hope for fairer hearing in the future. But the election of Oddo Colonna, who as Papal commissioner had condemned Hus in 1411, dashed all further hopes to the ground. Martin V. accepted all that the Council had done towards the Bohemian heretics, and urged Sigismund to interpose. He threatened to proclaim a crusade against Bohemia, which would then be conquered by some faithful prince, who might not be willing to hand it over to Sigismund. The threat alarmed Sigismund, who wrote urgently to his brother Wenzel; and the indolent Wenzel, who had allowed dim notions of impossible toleration to float before his eyes, at last roused himself to see the hopelessness of his attempt neither to favour nor discourage the new movement. At the end of 1418 he ordered that all the churches in Prag should be given up to the Catholics, who hastened to return and wreak their wrath on the heretics. Two churches only were left to the Utraquists, as the reformed party was now called, from its administration of the communion under both kinds. But the multitudes began to meet in the open air, on hill-tops, which they loved to call by Biblical names, Tabor and Horeb and the like. Peacefully these assemblies met and separated; but this condition of suppressed revolt could not long continue. On July 22, 1419, Wenzel's wrath was kindled by hearing of a vast meeting of 40,000 worshippers, who had received the communion under both kinds, and had given it even to the children of their company.

Beginning of religious warfare in Prag. July, 1419.

These meetings at once awakened the enthusiasm of the Utraquists, and gave them confidence in their strength. On Sunday, July 30, a procession, headed by a former monk, John of Sulau, who had preached a fiery sermon to a large congregation, marched through the streets of Prag, and took possession of

the church of S. Stephen, where they celebrated their own rites. Thence they proceeded to the Town Hall of the Neustadt, and clamoured that the magistrates should release some who had been made prisoners on religious grounds. The magistrates were the nominees of Wenzel to carry out his new policy; they barred the doors, and looked from the windows upon the crowd. Foremost in it stood the priest, John of Sulau, holding aloft the chalice. Some one from the windows threw a stone, and knocked it from his hands. The fury of the crowd blazed out in a moment. Headed by John *Zizka*, of Trocnow, a nobleman of Wenzel's court, they burst open the doors, slew the burgomaster, and flung out of the windows all who did not succeed in making their escape. It was the beginning of a religious war more savage and more bloody than Europe had yet seen.

Death of Wenzel. August, 1419.

Wenzel's rage was great when he heard of these proceedings. He threatened death to all the Hussites, and particularly the priests. But his helplessness obliged him to listen to proposals for reconciliation. The rebels humbled themselves, the King appointed new magistrates. Wenzel's perplexities, however, were soon to end; on August 16 he was struck with apoplexy, and died with a great shout and roar as of a lion.[1] He was buried secretly at night, for Prag was in an uproar at the news of his death. Wenzel's faults as a ruler are obvious enough. He was devoid of wisdom and energy; he was arbitrary and capricious; he was alternately sunk in sloth, and a prey to fits of wild fury. He had none of the qualities of a statesman; yet with all his faults he was felt by the Bohemians to have a love for his people, to whom he was always kindly and familiar, and to whom in his way he strove to do justice. His own ambiguous position towards his brother Sigismund and European politics corresponded in some measure with the ambiguous attitude of Bohemia towards the Church, and

[1] 'Cum magno clamore et rugitu quasi leonis.' Laur. de Brezina (in Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung*, i., 341), who is the authority for the above account.

for a time he was no unfitting representative of the land which he ruled. Just as events had reached the point when decision was rendered inevitable, Wenzel's death handed over to Sigismund the responsibility of dealing with the future of Bohemia.

Temporising policy of Sigismund. 1419.

Sigismund did not judge it expedient to turn his attention immediately to Bohemia. His Hungarian subjects clamoured for his aid against the Turks, who were pressing up the Danube valley. He was bound to help them first, and obtain their help against Bohemia. He trusted that conciliatory measures would disarm the Bohemian rebels, whom he would afterwards be able to deal with at leisure. Accordingly he appointed the widowed queen, Sophia, as regent in Bohemia, and round her gathered the nobles in the interests of public order. At the head of the Government stood Cenek of Wartenberg, who was leader of the Hussite league, and who strove to check excesses by a policy of toleration. But men needed guarantees for the future. The Diet which met in September, 1419, and in which the Hussites had a majority, demanded of Sigismund that he should grant full liberty for the Utraquist preaching and ceremonies, and should confer office in the State on the Tchecks only. Sigismund returned the ambiguous answer that he hoped soon to come in person, and would govern according to the old customs of his father, Charles IV. No doubt the answer was pleasant to the patriotic aspirations which their request contained; but men significantly observed that there were no Hussites in Charles IV.'s days.

Queen Sophia was obliged to write repeatedly to Sigismund, begging him to be more explicit; but only drew from him a proclamation recommending order and quiet, and promising to examine into the Utraquist question when he arrived. Sigismund hoped to gain time till he had an army ready; he hoped to win over the Hussite nobles by a display of confidence meanwhile, and slowly gather round himself all the moderate party.

But Sigismund did not know the strength nor the political sagacity of the leaders of the extreme party, which had been slowly but surely forming itself since the death of Hus. The moderate party were men of the same views as Hus, who were faithful to an ideal of the Church, repelled the charge of heresy, and still hoped for tolerance, at least in time, for their own opinions. With men such as these Sigismund could easily deal. But the extreme party, who were called Taborites from their open-air meetings, recognised that the breach with Rome was irreparable, and were prepared to carry their opinions into all questions, religious, political, and social alike. Their position was one of open revolt against authority both in Church and State; they rested on the assertion of the rights of the individual, and appealed to the national sentiment of the masses of the people. At the head of this party stood two men of remarkable ability, Nicolas of Hus and John Zizka, both sprung from the smaller nobility, and both trained in affairs at Wenzel's court. Of these, Nicolas had the eye of a statesman; Zizka the eloquence, the enthusiasm, and the generalship needed for a leader of men. Nicolas of Hus saw from the first the real bearing of the situation; he saw that if the extreme party of the reformers did not prepare for the inevitable conflict they would gradually be isolated, and would be crushed by main force. Zizka set himself to the task of organising the enthusiasm of the Bohemian peasants into the stuff which would form a disciplined army. Like Cromwell in a later day, he used the seriousness that comes of deep religious convictions as the basis of a strong military organisation, against which the chivalry of Germany should break itself in vain. While Sigismund was delaying, Zizka was drilling. On October 25 he seized the Wyssehrad, a fortress on the hill commanding the Neustadt of Prag, and began a struggle to obtain entire possession of the city. But the excesses of the Taborites, and the fair promises of the Queen-regent, confirmed the party of order. Prag was not yet ready for the Taborites,

Nicolas of Hus and John Zizka.

and on November 11 Zizka and his troops fell back from the city.

Diet of Brünn. December, 1419.

In this state of things Sigismund advanced from Hungary into Moravia, and in December held a Diet at Brünn. Thither went Queen Sophia and the chief of the Bohemian nobles; thither, too, went the ambassadors of the city of Prag, to seek confirmation for their promised freedom of religion. Sigismund's attitude was still ambiguous; he received them graciously, did not forbid them to celebrate the communion in their own fashion in their own houses, but ordered them to keep peace in their city, submit to the royal authority, lay aside their arms, and he would treat them gently. The burghers of Prag submitted, and destroyed the fortifications which menaced the royal castle. Sigismund could view the results of his policy with satisfaction. The submission of Prag spread terror on all sides;[1] the power of Sigismund impressed men's imagination; the Catholics began to rejoice in anticipation of a speedy triumph.

Prag revolts against Sigismund. 1420.

From Brünn Sigismund advanced into Silesia, where he was received with loyal enthusiasm, and many of the German nobles met him at Breslau. Sigismund became convinced of his own power and importance and let drop the mask too soon. At Breslau he put down the Utraquists, inquired severely into a municipal revolt, which was insignificant compared to what had happened in Prag, caused twenty-three citizens to be executed for rebellion, and on March 17 allowed the Papal legate to proclaim a crusade against the Hussites. The result of this false step was to lose at once the support of the moderate party, and to alienate the national feeling of the Bohemians. The people of Prag issued a manifesto calling all who loved the law of Christ and their country's liberties to join in resisting Sigismund's crusade. The nobles, headed by Cenek of Wartenberg, denounced Sigismund as their enemy, and

[1] 'Timor magnus ac pavor veritati adhærentes invasit,' says Brezina, Höfler, i., 348.

not their king. The country was at once in arms, and the pent-up fanaticism was let loose. Churches and monasteries were destroyed on every side. No country was so rich in splendid buildings and treasures of ecclesiastical ornament as was Bohemia;[1] but a wave of ruthless devastation now swept across it which has left only faint traces of the former splendour. Again excesses awoke alarm among the modern nobles. Cenek of Wartenberg went back to Sigismund's side; and the burghers of Prag saw themselves consequently in a dangerous plight, as the two castles between which their city lay, the Wyssehrad and the Hradschin, again declared for Sigismund. As they could not defend their city, they again turned to thoughts of submission, in return for an amnesty and permission to celebrate the communion under both kinds. But Sigismund had now advanced into Bohemia and proudly looked for a speedy triumph. He demanded that they should lay aside their arms and submit. This harshness was a fatal error on Sigismund's part, as it drove the burghers of Prag into alliance with the extreme party of Zizka.

As yet this alliance had not been made; as yet Prag wished to proceed on the old constitutional lines. It wished to recognise the legitimate king, and obtain from him tolerance for the new religious beliefs. If this were impossible, there was nothing left save to throw in their lot with those who wished to create a new constitution and a new society. Zizka had been preparing for the contest. He remorselessly pursued a policy which would deprive the Catholics of their resources, and would compel Bohemia to follow the course in which it had engaged. Monasteries were everywhere pillaged and destroyed; Church property was seized; the lands of the orthodox party were ruthlessly devastated. Sigismund, if he entered Bohemia, would find no resources to help him. Zizka so acted

Zizka fortifies Tabor.

[1] 'Nullum ego regnum ætate nostra in tota Europa tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis ditatum fuisse quam Bohemicum reor,' says Æneas Sylvius, *Hist. Boh.*, ch. xxxvi.

as to make the breach at once irreparable; he wished to leave no chance of conciliation, except on condition of recognising all that he had done. Moreover, he established a centre for his authority. When he failed to seize Prag as a stronghold, he sought out a spot which would form a capital for the revolution. A chance movement made him master of the town of Austi, near which were the remains of an old fortified place. Zizka's eye at once recognised its splendid military situation, lying on the top of a hill, which was formed into a peninsula by two rivers which flow round its rocky base. Zizka set to work to build up the old walls, and strengthen by art the strong natural position. The approach to the peninsula, which was only thirty feet wide, was rendered secure by a triple wall and a deep ditch. Towers and defences crowned the whole line of the wall.[1] It was not a city, but a permanent camp, which Zizka succeeded in making, and to which was given the characteristic name of Tabor. Henceforth the name of Taborites was confined to Zizka's followers.

Sigismund repulsed from Witkow. July, 1420.

Before the danger which threatened them with entire destruction, as Sigismund's army numbered at least 80,000 men from almost every nation in Europe, all parties in Bohemia drew together. The troops of Zizka entered Prag, and the burghers destroyed such parts of their city as were most open to attack from the Wyssehrad and the Hradschin, which were held by the Royalists. The hill of Witkow, on the north-east of the city, was still held by the Hussites, and against that Sigismund directed an attack on July 14. The attention of the enemy was distracted by assaults in different quarters, and Sigismund's soldiers pressed up the hill. But a tower, defended by twenty-six Taborites, with two women and a girl who fought like heroes, kept the troops at bay till a band of Zizka's soldiers came to their aid, and charged with such fury that the Germans fled in dismay. Sigismund learned

[1] Æn. Sylvius, *Hist. Boh.*, ch. xl., gives a graphic description of Tabor, which he visited himself. 'Nos qualem vidimus descripsimus.'

with shame and anger the powerlessness of his great host to contend against a people actuated by national and religious zeal. Their repulse kindled in the Germans a desire for vengeance, and they massacred the Bohemian inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages. When the Bohemian nobles of the King's party resented this display of hatred against the entire Bohemian race, Sigismund's unwieldy army began to break up. There was again a talk of negotiation, and the people of Prag sent to Sigismund their demands, which are known as the Four Articles of Prag, and formed the charter of the Hussite creed. They asked for freedom of preaching, the communion under both kinds, the reduction of the clergy to apostolic poverty, and the severe repression of all open sins. These articles were a worthy exposition of the principles of the Reformation: the first asserted the freedom of man to search the Scriptures for himself; the second attacked one of the great outposts of sacerdotalism, the denial of the cup to the laity; the third cut at the root of the abuses of the ecclesiastical system; and the fourth claimed for Christianity the power to regenerate and regulate society. There was some semblance of discussion on these points; but there could be no agreement between those who rested on the authority of the Church and those who entirely disregarded it.

These negotiations, however, gave still further pretext for many of Sigismund's troops to leave his army. Resolving to do something, Sigismund on July 28 had himself crowned King of Bohemia, a step which gave greater appearance of legitimacy to his position. He strove to bind to his interests the Bohemian nobles by gifts of the royal domains and of the treasures of the churches. Meanwhile the Hussites besieged the Wyssehrad and succeeded in cutting off its supplies. It was reduced to extremities when Sigismund made an effort to relieve it. The chivalry of Moravia, Hungary, and Bohemia were checked in their fiery charge by the steady organisation of the Taborites, and more than four hundred

Sigismund driven from Bohemia. March, 1421.

of the bravest nobles were slaughtered by the flails of the peasants as they struggled in the vineyards and marsh at the bottom of the hill. Sigismund fled, and the Wyssehrad surrendered on November 1. After this, Sigismund's cause was lost, and he was regarded as the murderer of the nobles who fell in the disastrous battle of the Wyssehrad The troops of Zizka overran Bohemia, and the Catholic inhabitants fled before them. Town after town submitted, and in March, 1421, Sigismund left Bohemia in despair. He had hopelessly mismanaged affairs. He had alternated between a policy of conciliation and one of repression. He had alienated the Bohemians through the cruelty of his German followers, and had lost the support of the Germans through his anxiety to win the Bohemian nobles Finally his hope of overcoming the people by the help of the native nobles had ignominiously failed and had covered Sigismund with disgrace.

Bohemia accepts the Four Articles of Prag. June, 1421.

The Utraquists were now masters of Bohemia, and the whole land was banded together in resistance to Catholicism and Sigismund. The nobles joined with the people, and Prag was triumphant; even the Archbishop Conrad accepted the Four Articles of Prag on April 21, 1421. The movement spread into Moravia, which joined with Bohemia in its revolution. The next step was the organisation of the newly-won freedom. A Diet held at Caslau in June accepted the Four Articles of Prag, declared Sigismund an enemy of Bohemia and unworthy of the Crown, appointed a Committee of twenty representatives of the different estates and parties to undertake the government of the land until it had a king, and left the organisation of religious matters to a synod of clergy which was soon to be convoked. Sigismund's ambassadors offering toleration, scarcely obtained a hearing: the offer came a year too late.

Although Bohemia was united in opposition to Sigismund and Catholicism, it was but natural that the divergencies of opinion within itself should grow wider as it felt itself more

free from danger. The division between the Conservative and Radical party became more pronounced. The Conservatives, who were called Calixtins or Utraquists from their ceremonial, or Pragers from their chief seat, held by the position of Hus—a position of orthodoxy in belief, with a reformation of ecclesiastical practice carried out according to Scripture. They altered as little as possible in the old ecclesiastical arrangements, retained the mass service with the communion under both kinds, and observed the festivals of the Church.[1] Against them were set the Radicals, the Taborites, amongst whom there were several parties. The most moderate, at the head of which stood *Zizka*, differed from the Pragers not so much in belief as in the determined spirit with which they were prepared to defend their opinions and carry them out in practice. The thorough Taborites cast aside all ecclesiastical authority and asserted the sufficiency of Scripture, for the right understanding of which the individual believer was directly illuminated by the Holy Ghost. They rejected Transubstantiation, and asserted that Christ was present in the elements only in a figurative way. Besides these were various extreme sects, who held that the Millennium had begun, that God existed only in the hearts of the believers, and the devil in the hearts of the wicked. Most notorious amongst these was the small sect of the Adamites, who took possession of a small island on the river Nezarka and gave themselves up to a life of communism which degenerated into shameless excesses. Against these extreme sectaries the Pragers and *Zizka* set up a standard of orthodoxy, and proceeded to measures of repression. Fifty of both sexes were burned by *Zizka* on the same day: they entered the flames with a smile, saying, 'To-day will we reign with Christ'. The island of the Adamites was stormed, and the entire body exterminated. Martinek Hauska, the chief

Religious parties in Bohemia.

[1] The Papal legate reported to the Council of Basel (*Mon. Concil.*, i., 141): 'Quod in veteri Praga in omni loco ecclesiastico non alia vidit in Bohe morum ceremoniis, nisi sicut in nostris ecclesiis, excepta practica communicandi sub utraque specie'.

teacher who opposed Transubstantiation, was burned as a heretic in Prag.

Flight of the German army from Saaz. 1421.

It was indeed needful that Bohemia should retain the appearance of unity if she were to succeed in maintaining her new religious freedom. Sigismund was disheartened by the failure of his first attempt, and was ready to wait and try the results of moderation. But the German electors and the Pope were by no means willing to give up Bohemia as lost. The four Rhenish Electors formed a league against the heretics: the Papal legate, Cardinal Branda, journeyed through Germany to kindle the zeal of the faithful. Sigismund was openly denounced as a favourer of heresy, and was compelled to bestir himself. It was agreed that the Electors should lead an army from Germany, and Sigismund should advance from Hungary through Moravia and unite with them. In September Germany poured an army of 200,000 men into Bohemia; but Sigismund tarried and deferred his coming. Loud accusations of treachery were brought against him by the angry princes, and disputes sprang up among them. The vast army wasted its energies in the siege of Saaz, and began gradually to disperse; the news of Zizka's advance turned it to shameful flight. It was said ironically that such was the horror which the German princes felt against the heretics, that they could not even endure to see them.[1]

Military system of Zizka.

When Sigismund had finished his preparations, he also in December entered Bohemia with a formidable army of 90,000 men, well armed, trained in warfare, led by Pipo of Florence, one of the most renowned generals of the age. Zizka put forth all his powers of generalship to save Bohemia from the impending danger. Zizka, who had been one-eyed for years, had lost his remaining eye at the siege of the little castle of Rabi in August. He was now entirely blind, but his blindness only gave

[1] Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach, quoted by Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, iii., 254, from the MS. *Liber Augustalis*: 'Adeo enim eis Bohemi erant abominabiles ut non solum eos ferire sed ne quidem potuerunt eos contueri',

greater clearness to his mental vision, and he could direct the movements of a campaign with greater precision than before. The very fact that he had to be dependent on others for information led him to impress more forcibly his own spirit on those around him, and so train up a school of great generals to succeed him. Under Zizka's guidance the democratic feeling of the Bohemians had been made the basis of a new military organisation which was now to try its strength against the chivalry of the Middle Ages. Strict discipline prevailed amongst Zizka's troops, and he was able to meet the dash of the feudal forces with the coolness of a trained army which could perform complicated manœuvres with unerring precision. He paid especial attention to artillery, and was the first great general to realise its importance. Moreover, he adapted the old war chariots to the purposes of defence. His line of march was protected on the flanks by waggons fastened to one another by iron chains. These waggons readily formed the fortifications of a camp or served as protection against an attack. In battle the soldiers, when repulsed, could retire behind their cover, and form again their scattered lines. The waggons were manned by the bravest troops, and their drivers were trained to form them according to letters of the alphabet; so that the Hussites, having the key, easily knew their way amongst the lines, while the enemy, if they forced their way, were lost in an inextricable labyrinth. At times the waggons, filled with heavy stones, were rolled downhill on the enemy's ranks; when once those ranks were broken, the waggons were rapidly driven in, and cut in two the enemy's line. It was a new kind of warfare, which spread terror and helplessness among the crusading hosts.

This new organisation was sorely tried when, on December 21, Sigismund's army advanced against Kuttenberg, and met Zizka's forces hard by its walls. The waggons of the Bohemians proved an impregnable defence, and their artillery did great execution against the Hungarians. But treachery was at

Sigismund routed at Kuttenberg. January, 1422.

work in Kuttenberg, and opened the gates to Sigismund. Next day the Bohemians found themselves shut in on all sides, and their foes prepared to reduce them by hunger. But in the darkness of the night Zizka drew his troops together, and with a charge of his waggons broke through the enemy's line and made good his retreat. Rapidly gathering reinforcements, Zizka returned to Kuttenberg on January 6, 1422, and fell suddenly upon the centre of the unsuspecting army. A panic seized the Germans; Sigismund fled ignominiously, and his example was followed by all. Zizka followed, and, aided by the wintry weather, inflicted severe losses on the invaders. More than 12,000 men are said to have perished. The second crusade against the Hussites failed even more signally than the first.

Bohemia had now beaten back both Sigismund, who came to assert his hereditary rights to the crown, and the German princes, who viewed with alarm the dismemberment of the empire. There remained the more difficult task of organising its political position. The great statesman, Nicolas of Hus, was dead, and Zizka had the talents of a general rather than a politician. His own democratic ideas were too strong for him to put himself at the head of the State, and bring about the necessary union between the Pragers and the Taborites. The Bohemian nobles and the Conservative party generally desired to take the management of affairs out of the hands of the Taborites, and re-establish a monarchy. Already they had offered the kingdom to Ladislas, King of Poland, who shrank from incurring the charge of heresy, which would hinder him in his constant warfare against the Teutonic Knights in Prussia. But Witold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, a man of high political sagacity, had before his eyes the possibility of a great Slavic confederacy which would beat back all German aggression. He saw in the Hussite movement a means of bridging over the religious differences between the Latin and Greek Churches, which were an obstacle to the union of Prussia and Poland. These plans of Witold created great

Sigismund Korybut of Poland goes to Prag. May, 1422.

alarm in Germany, and many efforts were made to thwart them; but Witold took advantage of events, announced to the Pope that he wished to restore order in Bohemia, and in May, 1422, sent the nephew of Ladislas of Poland, Sigismund Korybut, with an army to Prag. Prag, torn with internal dissensions, accepted Korybut as a deliverer. Zizka recognised him as ruler of the land, and Korybut showed zeal and moderation in winning over all parties to his side.

This union of Bohemia and Poland was a standing menace to Germany, and a Diet held at Nürnberg in July appointed Frederick of Brandenburg to lead a new expedition into Bohemia. Frederick was keenly alive to the gravity of the situation, which indeed threatened himself in Brandenburg. He endeavoured to gather together both an army for a crusade and a permanent army of occupation, which was to be left in Bohemia. But Germany's internal weakness and constant dissensions prevented Frederick from accomplishing anything. He led a few soldiers into Bohemia, spent some time in negotiations, and then returned Nor was Korybut's position in Bohemia a strong one. He failed in his military undertakings; his attempts at conciliation alienated the extreme Taborites; Zizka maintained an attitude of neutrality towards him. Meanwhile Martin V. was untiring in his endeavours to break down the alliance between Poland and Bohemia. He exhorted the Polish bishops to labour for that purpose. He wrote to Ladislas and Witold, pointing out the political dangers which beset them if they strayed from Catholicism.[1] Sigismund, on his part, was willing to purchase an alliance with Poland by abandoning the cause of the Teutonic Knights. The combined efforts of Martin V. and Sigismund were successful. Witold wrote to the Bohemians that his desire had been to reconcile them with the Roman Church; as they were obstinate, he was driven to abandon them to their fate. Korybut was recalled, and left Prag on December

Martin V. defeats the Polish alliance. December, 1422.

[1] See his letter, dated May 13, 1422, in Palacky, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, i., 199.

24. The great idea of a Slavonic Empire and Church was at an end, and the future of Poland was decided by its cowardice at this great crisis. Henceforth it was condemned to the isolation which it had chosen through want of foresight.

Uncompromising temper of Zizka and the Taborites. 1423-24.

The departure of Korybut and freedom from invasion awakened amongst the Bohemians the differences which danger made them forget. The Pragers and the Taborites stood in stronger opposition to one another. The Pragers were more disposed to negotiation, and hoped that they might still find room for their opinions under the shadow of the authority of the Church. Zizka had grown more convinced of the futility of compromise, and a stern spirit of resistance took possession of him and his followers. The year 1423 is full of the records of civil war and devastation in Bohemia, and Zizka spread fire and slaughter even in the neighbouring lands of Moravia and Hungary. The year 1424 is known in Bohemian annals as 'Zizka's bloody year'. He swept like a storm over towns and villages of those who wished for compromise, and inflicted a sore defeat on the forces of the Pragers who were following on his tract. The Pragers in dismay looked for a leader and found him in Korybut, who in June, 1424, returned to Prag, no longer as the deputy of Witold and the Governor of Bohemia, but as a personal adventurer at the head of the Moderate party. Zizka advanced against Prag; and the capital of Bohemia, the seat of Hus and his teaching, was in danger of a terrible siege. But moderate counsels prevailed at the last moment to avert this crowning calamity. Zizka withdrew and soon after died of the plague on October 11. His followers bewailed the loss of one who was to them both leader and father; they took the name of Orphans in sign of their bereavement.

Death of Zizka. October, 1424.

Zizka was a man of profound, even fanatical, piety, with great decision and energy, who clearly saw the issue that lay before the Bohemians if they wished to maintain their religious freedom. But he was a man of action rather than reflection. He had the qualities

necessary to head a party, but not those necessary to lead a people. He could solve the problem for himself by a rigorous determination to be watchful and to persist; but his range of ideas was not large enough to enable him to form any policy which would organise the nation to keep what it had won. Amid Bohemian parties he maintained a strong position, opposed to extremes but convinced of the hopelessness of conciliation. As a general he is almost unrivalled, for he knew how to train out of raw materials an invincible army, and he never lost a battle. He could drive back hosts of invaders and could maintain order within the limits of Bohemia; but he lacked the political sense that could bind a people together. His position became more and more a purely personal one; his resolute character degenerated into savagery; and his last energies were spent in trying to impress upon all his own personal convictions without any consideration of the exact issue to which they would lead. Without Zizka Bohemia would never have made good her resistance to the Church and to Sigismund. It was his misfortune rather than his fault that he had not also the political genius to organise that resistance on a secure basis for the future.

Desire of the moderate party for peace. 1425.

By Zizka's death the party opposed to reconciliation with Rome lost its chief strength. The Taborites divided into two—the Orphans, who held by the opinions of Zizka, and were separated from the Pragers rather on social and political than on religious grounds—and the extreme Taborites, who denied Transubstantiation and were entirely opposed to the Church system. But both these parties were feeble, and spent their energies in conflicts with one another. The field was open for Korybut and the Pragers to continue negotiations for peace and reconciliation. Bohemia was growing weary of anarchy. The first fervour of religious zeal had worn away, the first enthusiasm had been disillusioned. Men were beginning to count the cost of their political isolation, of the devastation of their land by foes without and quarrels within, of the

ruin of their commerce. Against this they had little to set as a counterpoise. The exactions of feudal lords were as easy to bear as the exactions of a plundering army; the equality which they had hoped to find through religion was not yet attained. Though victorious in the field, the great mass of the Bohemian people longed for peace almost on any terms.

During the year 1425 Korybut pursued his negotiations, and was engaged in paving the way for reconciliation with Rome. The people were not unwilling, but the army still remained true to its faith. As they felt that danger was menancing them, the Taborites again drew together, reasserted their principles and prepared to wage war. Besides the danger from half-heartedness at home, two active enemies harassed the Bohemian border. Albert of Austria attacked Moravia, and Frederick of Meissen, whom Sigismund had made Elector of Saxony, was winning back Silesia. A new leader arose to guide the renewed vigour of the Taborites, Procopius, called the Great to distinguish him from others of the same name. Procopius, like Zizka, was sprung from the lower nobility, and was a priest at the time when he first attached himself to the party of Hus. Without possessing the military genius of Zizka, he knew how to manage the army which Zizka had created; and he had a larger mind and was capable of greater plans than his predecessor. Procopius was averse from war, and as a priest never bore arms nor took part in the battles which he directed. He wished for peace, but an honourable and enduring peace, which would guarantee to Bohemia her religious freedom. Peace, he saw, could only be won by arms; it was not enough to repel the invaders, Bohemia must secure its borders by acting on the offensive. He led his troops up the Elbe to the siege of Aussig. Frederick of Saxony was absent at a Diet at Nürnberg, but his wife Catharine called for succours and gathered an army of 70,000 men. The Bohemian troops, reinforced by Korybut, amounted only to 25,000. On June 16, 1426, was fought the battle under the walls of Aussig.

Procopius the Great defeats the Saxons at Aussig June, 1426

The Bohemians entrenched themselves behind their waggons, and the furious onslaught of the German knights forced the first line. But the artillery opened on their flank; the Bohemians from their waggons dragged the knights from their horses with long lances, and dashed them to the ground. The German lines were broken, and the Bohemians rushed in and turned them to flight. The slaughter that ensued was terrible; 10,000 Germans were left dead upon the field. Procopius wished to lead his victorious army farther, so as to teach the Germans a lesson; but the Moderates refused to follow, and the campaign came to an end without any other results.

Failure of Korybut's plans for reconciliation. 1427.

As usual, a victory united Germany and disunited Bohemia. Korybut pursued his schemes for union with Rome, and wrote to Martin V. asking him to receive Bohemian envoys for this purpose. Martin V. expressed his willingness, provided they would abide by the decision of the Holy See, which was, however, ready to receive information of their desires.[1] Korybut hoped that the Pope would abandon Sigismund and recognise himself as King of Bohemia in return for his services to the Church. But Korybut was not yet firm enough in his position to carry out his plan. The dissension between the Taborites and the Pragers was not yet so profound that the Moderates as a body were willing to submit unreservedly to Rome. Korybut's plans were known in Prag, and a party formed itself, which, while in favour of reconciliation, stood firm by the Four Articles. On Maundy Thursday, April 17, 1427, an eloquent and popular priest, John Rokycana, denounced in a sermon the treachery of Korybut. The people flew to arms, drove out the Poles, and made Korybut a prisoner. His plans had entirely failed, and the victory of the Moderate party over him necessarily turned to the profit of Procopius and the Taborites.

[1] See letter of Martin V. to Sigismund, in Raynaldus, 1427, § 10: 'Ipsos volebamus audire, ita scilicet, si venirent parati stare nostræ determinationi, nobis et ecclesiæ de cætero parituri'.

Failure of the Crusade of 1427.

Procopius was now ruler of Bohemia, and carried out his policy of terrifying his opponents by destructive raids into Austria, Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia. Germany in alarm again began to raise forces; and Martin V. hoped to gain greater importance for the expedition by appointing as Papal legate Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, whom he made Cardinal for the purpose. Beaufort's experience of affairs and high political position made him a fit man to interest England and France in the cause of the Church. In July, 1427, a strong army entered Bohemia and laid siege to Mies; but the soldiers were undisciplined and the leaders were disunited. On the approach of Procopius a panic seized the army, and it fled in wild confusion to Tachau. There Henry of Winchester, who had stayed behind in Germany, met the fugitives. He was the only man of courage and resolution in the army. He implored them to stand and meet the foe; he unfolded the Papal banner and even set up a crucifix to shame the fugitives.[1] They stayed and formed in battle order, but the appearance of the Bohemian troops again filled them with dread, and a second time they fled in panic terror. In vain Henry of Winchester tried to rally them. He seized the flag of the Empire, tore it in pieces and flung them before the princes; but at last was himself driven to flee, lest he should fall into the hands of the heretics.

Proposals for pacification. 1429.

This disgraceful retreat did not bring men's minds nearer to peace. Martin V. urged a new expedition, and Sigismund was not sorry to see the Electors in difficulties. In Bohemia the party of peace made a vain effort to raise Prag in the name of Korybut; but the rising was put down without the help of Procopius, and Korybut was sent back to Poland in September, 1427. Procopius rallied round him the entire Hussite party, and, true to his policy of extorting an honourable peace, signalised the year 1428 by destructive raids into Austria, Bavaria,

[1] Andrew of Ratisbon, in Höfler, ii., 454; i., 578.

Silesia, and Saxony. After each expedition he returned home and waited to see if proposals for peace were likely to be made. In April, 1429, a conference was arranged between Sigismund and some of the Hussite leaders, headed by Procopius, at Pressburg in Hungary. Sigismund proposed a truce for two years till the assembling of the Council at Basel, before which the religious differences might be laid.[1] The Hussites answered that their differences arose because the Church had departed from the example of Christ and the Apostles : the Council of Constance had shown them what they had to expect from Councils ; they demanded an impartial judge between the Council and themselves, and this judge was the Holy Scripture and writings founded thereon. The proposal of Sigismund was referred to a Diet at Prag, and answer was made that the Bohemians were ready to submit their case to a Council, provided it contained representatives of the Greek and Armenian Churches, which received the Communion under both kinds, and provided it undertook to judge according to the Word of God, not the will of the Pope. Their request was equitable but impracticable. It was clearly impossible for them to submit to the decision of a Council composed entirely of their opponents ; yet they could have little hope that their proposal to construct an impartial tribunal would be accepted.[2]

The negotiations came to nothing. Indeed, Sigismund was busy at the same time in summoning the forces of the Empire to advance again against Bohemia. Henry of Winchester had gathered a force of 5000 English horsemen, and in July, 1429, landed in Flanders on his way to Germany. But religious considerations were driven to give way to political. The unexpected successes of Jeanne Darc, the raising of the siege of Orleans, the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, gave a sudden check

Diversion of Cardinal Beaufort's Crusade. 1429.

[1] Palacky, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, ii., 22.

[2] See *Ibid.*, ii., 50, and Andrew of Ratisbon, *Dialogus*, in Höfler, i. 582.

to the English power in France. Winchester's soldiers were ordered to the relief of their countrymen; the Cardinal's influence could not persuade his men to prefer religious zeal to patriotic sentiment. The Catholics in Germany broke into a wail of lamentation when they saw the forces of the Papal legate diverted to a war with France.[1]

Bohemian raids into Germany. 1430.

Germany was feeble, and Bohemia was again agitated by a struggle. The peace party in Prag had for its quarters the Old Town, and the more pronounced Hussites the New Town. The two quarters of the city were on the point of open hostility when Procopius again united Bohemia for a war of invasion. The year 1430 was terrible in the annals of Germany, for the Hussite army carried devastation into the most flourishing provinces of the Empire. They advanced along the Elbe into Saxony, and penetrated as far as Meissen; they invaded Franconia, and threatened with siege the stately town of Nürnberg. Wherever they went the land was laid waste, and fire and slaughter were spread on every side.

The policy of Procopius was beginning to have its effect.

The Hussite question renders a Council inevitable. 1430.

The Hussite movement was the great question which attracted the attention of Europe. Hussite manifestoes were circulated in every land; the new opinions were discussed openly, and in many places met with considerable sympathy.[2] The Hussites complained that their opponents attacked them without really knowing their beliefs, which were founded only on Holy Scripture; they invited all men to acquaint themselves with their opinions; they appealed to the success of their arms as a proof that God was on their side. The opinion began to prevail that, after all, argument and not arms was the proper

[1] See the letters of Martin V. to Charles VII. of France, in Raynaldus, 1429, §§ 16, 17.

[2] John of Segovia (*Mon. Concil.*, ii., 5) gives an account of these Hussite letters in Spain: 'Premittebant se desiderare, ut illis aperiret intellectum Deus illuminans corda eorum, narrantes quomodo jam a pluribus annis inter se et illos magna fuisset discordia, et utrinque nobiles et ignobiles multi fatui sua corpora perdidissent,' etc.

mode of meeting heresy, particularly when arms had proved a failure. Martin V., who hated the very name of a Council,[1] was again haunted at the end of 1430 by the face of John of Ragusa, who had been negotiating with Sigismund that he should combine with the University of Paris to urge on the Pope a speedy summons of the Council to Basel. Soon after John's arrival in Rome, on the morning of November 8, the day on which Martin V. was to create three new Cardinals, a document was found affixed to the door of the Papal palace which caused a great sensation in Rome.

Startling document in favour of the Council. 1430.

'Whereas it is notorious to all Christendom, that since the Council of Constance an untold number of Christians have wandered from the faith by means of the Hussites, and members are daily being lopped off from the body of the Church militant, nor is there any one of all the sons whom she begat to help or console her; now, therefore, two most serene princes direct to all Christian princes the following conclusions, approved by learned doctors both of canon and of civil law, which they have undertaken to defend in the Council to be celebrated according to the decree of Constance in March next.' Then followed the conclusions, which set forth that the Catholic faith must be preferred before man, whoever he be; that princes secular as well as ecclesiastical are bound to defend the faith; that as former heresies, the Novatian, Arian, Nestorian, and others, were extirpated by Councils, so must that of the Hussites; that every Christian under pain of mortal sin must strive for the celebration of a Council for this purpose; if Popes or Cardinals put hindrances in the way they must be reckoned as favourers of heresy; if the Pope does not summon the Council at the appointed time those present at it ought to withdraw from his obedience, and proceed against those who try to hinder it as against favourers of heresy. This startling document was currently

[1] 'In immensum nomen concilii abhorrebat.'—John of Ragusa, *Mon. Con.* i., 66.

supposed to be authorised by Frederick of Brandenburg, Albert of Austria, and Lewis of Brieg.[1]

Several of the Cardinals, chief of whom was Condulmier, the future Pope, urged on Martin V. to comply with the prevailing wish. But Martin V. wished again to try the chance of war, and awaited the results of a diet which Sigismund had summoned to Nürnberg. On January 11, 1431, he appointed a new legate for Germany, Giuliano Cesarini, whom he had just created Cardinal. Cesarini was sprung from a poor but noble family in Rome, and his talents attracted Martin V.'s notice. He was a man of large mind, great personal holiness, and deep learning. His appearance and manner were singularly attractive, and all who came in contact with him were impressed by the genuineness and nobility of his character. If any man could succeed in awakening enthusiasm in Germany it was Cesarini.[2]

Cardinal Cesarini appointed legate in Germany. January, 1431.

Before Cesarini's departure to Germany Martin V. had been brought with difficulty to recognise the necessity of the assembly of the Council at Basel, and commissioned Cesarini to preside at its opening. The Bull authorising this was dated February 1, and conferred full powers on Cesarini to change the place of the Council at his will, to confirm its decrees and do all things necessary for the honour and peace of the Church. This Bull reached Cesarini at Nürnberg, shortly after the news of Martin V.'s death. The Diet of Nürnberg voted an expedition into Bohemia, and Cesarini eagerly travelled through Germany preaching the crusade. At the same time steps were taken to open the Council at Basel. On the last day of February a Burgundian abbot read before the assembled clergy of Basel the Bulls constituting the Council, and then solemnly pronounced that he was ready for con-

Beginnings of the Council of Basel. February —July, 1431.

[1] It is given in Martene, *Ampl. Collectio*, viii., 48, in a letter from a Burgundian envoy; also by John of Ragusa, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 65.

[2] See his character as described by Vespasiano and Paulus Jovius in the *Elogia Virorum Illustrium*.

ciliar business. In April representatives of the University of Paris and a few other prelates began to arrive; but Cesarini sent to them John of Ragusa on April 30 to explain that the Bohemian expedition was the object for which he had been primarily commissioned by the Pope, and was the great means of extirpating heresy. He besought them to send envoys to help him in his dealings with the Bohemians, and meanwhile to use their best endeavours to assemble others to the Council. The envoys of the Council, at the head of whom was John of Ragusa, followed Sigismund to Eger, where he held a conference with the Hussites. The conference was only meant to divert the attention of the Bohemians, and it was speedily ended by a demand on the part of the envoys that the Bohemians should submit their case unconditionally to the Council's decision. Sigismund returned to Nürnberg on May 22, and the German forces rapidly assembled. There were complaints at the legate's absence; Cesarini's zeal had led him as far as Köln, whence he hastened to Nürnberg on June 27. There he found a messenger from Eugenius IV., urging the prosecution of the Council, and bidding him, if it could be done without hindrance to the cause at heart, to leave the Bohemian expedition and proceed at once to Basel. But Cesarini's heart and soul were now in the crusade. He determined to pursue his course, and on July 3 appointed John of Palomar, an auditor of the Papal court, and John of Ragusa, to preside over the Council as his deputies in his absence.

On July 5 Cesarini addressed an appeal to the Bohemians, protesting his wish to bring peace rather than a sword. Were they not all Christians? Why should they stray from their holy mother the Church? Could a handful of men pretend to know better than all the doctors of Christendom? Let them look upon their wasted land and the miseries they had endured; he earnestly and affectionately besought them to return while it was time to the bosom of the Church. The Bohemians were not slow to answer. They asserted the truth of

Cesarini's appeal to the Bohemians. July 5, 1431.

the Four Articles of Prag, which they were prepared to prove by Scripture. They recounted the results of the conferences at Pressburg and Eger, where they had professed themselves willing to appear before any Council which would judge according to Scripture, and would work with them in bringing about the reformation of the Church according to the Word of God. They had been told that such limitations were contrary to the dignity of a General Council, which was above all law. This they could not admit, and trusting in God's truth were prepared to resist to the utmost those who attacked them.[1]

Rout of the Crusaders at Tauss. August 14, 1431.

On July 7 Cesarini left Nürnberg with Frederick of Brandenburg, who had been appointed commander of the Crusade. Cesarini had done his utmost to pacify the German princes and unite them for this expedition. He was full of hope when he set out from Nürnberg. But when he reached Weiden, where the different contingents were to meet, his hopes were rudely dispelled. Instead of soldiers he found excuses; he heard tales of nobles needing their troops to war against one another rather than combine in defence of the Church. 'We are many fewer,' he wrote to Basel on July 16, 'than was said in Nürnberg, so that the leaders hesitate. Not only our victory but even our entry into Bohemia is doubtful. We are not so few that, if there were any courage amongst us, we need shrink from entering Bohemia. I am very anxious and above measure sad. For if the army retreats without doing anything, the Christian religion in these parts is undone; such terror would be felt by our side, and their boldness would increase.'[2] However, on August 1, an army of 40,000 horse and 90,000 foot crossed the Bohemian border, and advanced against Tachau. Cesarini seeing it unprepared for attack urged an immediate onslaught: he was told that the soldiers were tired with their march, and must wait till to-morrow. In the night the inhabitants

[1] In Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 15; also *Mon. Concil.*, i., 148.
[2] *Mon. Concil.*, i., 99.

strengthened their walls and put their artillery into position, so that a storm was hopeless. The crusading host passed on, devastating and slaughtering with a ruthless cruelty that was a strange contrast to the charitable utterances of Cesarini's manifesto. But their triumph was short-lived. On August 14 the Bohemian army advanced against them at Tauss. Its approach was known, when it was yet some way off, by the noise of the rolling waggons. Cesarini, with the Duke of Saxony, ascended a hill to see the disposition of the army; there he saw with surprise the German waggons retreating. He sent to ask Frederick of Brandenburg the meaning of this movement, and was told that he had ordered the waggons to take up a secure position in the rear. But the movement was misunderstood by the Germans. A cry was raised that some were retreating. Panic seized the host, and in a few moments Cesarini saw the crusaders in wild confusion making for the Bohemian Forest in their rear. He was driven to join the fugitives, and all his efforts to rally them were vain. Procopius, seeing the flight, charged the fugitives, seized all their waggons and artillery, and inflicted upon them terrible slaughter. Cesarini escaped with difficulty in disguise, and had to endure the threats and reproaches of the Germans, who accused him as the author of all their calamities.

Cesarini was humbled by his experience. He reproached himself for his confidence in German arms; he had now seen enough of the cowardice and feebleness of Germany. He had seen, too, the growing importance of the Hussite movement, and the force which their success was giving to the spread of their convictions throughout Germany. When he returned to Nürnberg Sigismund met him with due honour; the German princes gathered round him and protested their readiness for another campaign next year. But Cesarini answered that no other remedy remained for the check of the Hussite heresy than the Council of Basel. He besought them to do their utmost to strengthen the feeble and cheer the

Cesarini arrives in Basel. September 9, 1431.

desponding in Germany, to exhort those whose faith was wavering to hold out in hope of succour from the Council.[1] With this advice he hastened to Basel, where he arrived on September 9. To the Council were now transferred all men's expectations of a peaceable settlement of the formidable difficulty which threatened Western Christendom.

[1] John of Segovia, in *Mon. Concil.*, ii., 29.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST ATTEMPT OF EUGENIUS IV. TO DISSOLVE THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

1431—1434.

The ancient city of Basel was well fitted to be the seat of a great assemblage. High above the rushing Rhine rose its stately minster on a rocky hill which seemed to brave the river's force. Round the river and the minster clusters the city. It was surrounded by a fertile plain, was easily accessible from Germany, France, and Italy, and as a free Imperial city was a place of security and dignity for the Council. To the eye of an Italian, accustomed to marbles and frescoes, the interior of the cathedral looked bald and colourless; but its painted windows and the emblazoned shields of nobles hung round the wall gave it a staid richness of its own. The Italians owned that it was a comfortable place, and that the houses of the merchants of Basel equalled those of Florence. It was well ordered by its magistrates, who administered strict justice and organised admirably the supplies of food. The citizens of Basel were devout, but little given to literature; they were luxurious and fond of wine, but were steadfast, truthful, sincere, and honest in their dealings.[1]

Description of Basel.

The Council was long in assembling. It was natural

[1] This is the picture of Æneas Sylvius in a letter addressed to the Cardinal of S. Angelo, printed by Urstisius, *Epitome Historiæ Basiliensis* (1577). It was written by Æneas as an introduction to a history of the Council.

that, while the President was absent in Bohemia, few should care to undertake the journey. If the crusade ended in a victory, it was doubtful how long the Council would sit. Cesarini's deputies, John of Palomar and John of Ragusa, opened the Council with due ceremonial on July 23. It was only sparsely attended, and its first business was to increase its numbers, and obtain some guarantees for its safety and freedom from the city magistrates and from Sigismund. On August 29 came the news of the flight of the Crusaders from Tauss. It produced a deep impression on the assembled fathers, and convinced them of the seriousness and importance of the work which they had before them. They felt that the chastisement which had befallen the Church was due to her shortcomings, and that penitence and reformation alone could avert further disaster.[1]

Formal opening of the Council. July 23, 1431.

To this feeling the arrival of Cesarini on September 9 gave further force. Deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis, he sent forth letters urging on the prelates that they should lose no time in coming to the Council. Only three bishops, seven abbots, and a few doctors were assembled, as the roads were unsafe, owing to a war between the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy. He wrote also to the Pope to express his own convictions and the common opinion of the work which the Council might do: it might extirpate heresy, promote peace throughout Christendom, restore the Church to its pristine glory, humble its enemies, treat of union with the Greeks, and finally set on foot a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land.[2] An envoy was sent to the Pope to explain to him how matters stood, and to urge the need of his presence at Basel. Meanwhile there were many discussions relative to

Cesarini's first steps. September, 1431.

[1] John of Ragusa (*Mon. Concil.*, i., 101): 'Fortius accensi ad reformationem ecclesiæ, negotia concilii multo acrius et cum majore sollicitudine et labore cœperunt peragere et procurare, expressam Dei hanc ultionem et flagellum percipientes evenire propter peccata et deformationem ecclesiæ'.

[2] The letter is given by John of Ragusa, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 108.

the constitution of the Council, who were to take part in it, and what was to be the method of voting. There was a general agreement that, as the great object of the Council was to arrange a union with the Bohemians and the Greeks, it was desirable to admit men of learning, that is, doctors of canon or civil law, as well as prelates. The question of the method of voting was left until the Council became more numerous.

The Council, moreover, lost no time in trying to bring about its chief object. On October 10 a letter was sent to the Bohemians, begging them to join with the Council for the promotion of unity. Perhaps God has allowed discord so long that experience might teach the evils of dissension. Christ's disciples are bound to labour for unity and peace. The desolation of Bohemia must naturally incline it to wish for peace, and where can that be obtained more surely than in a Council assembled in the Holy Ghost? At Basel everything will be done with diligence and with freedom; every one may speak, and the Holy Ghost will lead men's hearts to the truth, if only they will have faith. The Bohemians have often complained that they could not get a free hearing; at Basel they may both speak and hear freely, and the prayers of the faithful will help both sides. The most ample safe-conduct was offered to their representatives, and the fullest appreciation given to their motives. 'Send, we beseech you, men in whom you trust that the Spirit of the Lord rests, gentle, God-fearing, humble, desirous of peace, seeking not their own, but the things of Christ, whom we pray to give to us and you and all Christian people peace on earth, and in the world to come life everlasting.'[1] This letter, which breathes profound sincerity and true Christian charity, was, no doubt, an expression of the views of Cesarini, and was most probably written by him. The greatest care was taken to make no allusion to the past, and to

Invitation sent to the Bohemians. October 10, 1431.

[1] John of Ragusa, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 135; also in John of Segovia, and in Mansi, xxix., 233.

approach the matter entirely afresh. But it was impossible for the Bohemians to forget all that had gone before. The difficulty experienced in sending the letter to the Bohemians showed the existence of a state of things very different from what the Council wished to recognise. There was no intercourse between Bohemia and the rest of Christendom; the Bohemians were under the ban of the Council of Siena as heretics. It was finally agreed to send three copies by different ways, in hopes that one at least might arrive. One was sent to Sigismund for transmission, another to the magistrates of Nürnberg, and a third to the magistrates of Eger. All three copies arrived safely in Bohemia in the beginning of December.

Eugenius IV. orders the dissolution of the Council of Basel. November 12, 1431.

This activity on the part of the Council necessarily aroused the suspicion of Eugenius IV. The zeal of Cesarini, which had been kindled by his Bohemian experiences, went far beyond the limits of Papal prudence. The Bohemian question did not seem so important at Rome as it did at Basel. A Council which under the pressure of necessity opened negotiations with heretics, might greatly imperil the faith of the Church, and might certainly be expected to do many things contrary to the Papal headship. A democratic spirit prevailed in Basel, which had shown itself in the admission of all doctors; and the discussion about the organisation of the Council showed that it would be very slightly amenable to the influence of the Pope and the Curia. Eugenius IV. resolved, therefore, at once to rid himself of the Council. He thought it wisest to overturn it at once, before it had time to strike its roots deeper. Accordingly, on November 12, he wrote to Cesarini, empowering him to dissolve the Council at Basel and proclaim another to be held at Bologna in a year and a half. The reasons given were the small attendance of prelates at Basel, the difficulties of access owing to the war between Austria and Burgundy, the distracted state of men's minds in that quarter owing to the spread of Hussite opinions; but especially the fact that

negotiations were now pending with the Greek Emperor, who had promised to come to a Council which was to unite the Greek and Latin Churches on condition that the Pope paid the expenses of his journey and held the Council in some Italian city. As it would be useless to hold two Councils at the same time, the Pope thought it better that the Fathers of Basel should reassemble at Bologna when their business was ready.

A Bull dissolving the Council on these grounds was also secretly prepared, and was signed by ten Cardinals. The Council, in entire ignorance of the blow that was being aimed at it, was engaged in preparations for its first public session, which took place under the presidency of Cesarini on December 14. The Council declared itself to be duly constituted, and laid down three objects for its activity: the extirpation of heresy, the purification of Christendom, and the reformation of morals. It appointed its officials and guarded by decrees its safety and freedom. On December 23 arrived the Bishop of Parenzo, treasurer of Eugenius IV., and was honourably received; but the coldness of his manner showed the object of his mission. The Council was at once in a ferment of excitement. In a congregation on December 29, the citizens of Basel appeared in force, and protested against the dissolution. Various speakers of the Council laid before the Bishop of Parenzo four propositions: that the urgent needs of Christendom did not allow of the dissolution of the Council; that such a step would cause great scandal and offence to the Church; that if this Council were dissolved or prorogued, it was idle to talk of summoning another; that a General Council ought to proceed against all who tried to hinder it, and ought to call all Christian princes to its aid. The Bishop of Parenzo was not prepared for this firm attitude; he found things at Basel different from his expectations. He thought it wise to temporise, and declared that if he had any Papal Bulls he would not publish them. Meanwhile he tried to induce Cesarini to dissolve the Council. Cesarini

The Pope's Bull of dissolution is not accepted by the Council. January, 1432.

was sorely divided between his allegiance to the Pope and his sense of what was due to the welfare of Christendom. It was agreed that two envoys should be sent to the Pope, one from Cesarini and one from the Council. The Bishop of Parenzo thought it wise to flee away on January 8, 1432, leaving his Bulls with John of Prato, who attempted to publish them on January 13, but was interrupted, and his Bulls and himself were taken in custody by the Council's orders.[1]

Cesarini's letter to Eugenius IV. protesting against the dissolution. January, 1432.

Cesarini was deeply moved by this attitude of the Pope. To his fervent mind it was inconceivable that the head of Christendom should behave with such levity at so grave a crisis. He wrote at once to Eugenius IV. a letter, in which he expressed with the utmost frankness his bitter disappointment at the Pope's conduct, his firm conviction of the need of straightforward measures on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to restore the shattered confidence of Christian people. He began his letter by saying that he was driven to speak freely and fearlessly by the manifest peril of the faith, the danger of the loss of obedience to the Papacy, the obloquy with which Eugenius was everywhere assailed. He recapitulated the facts concerning his own mission to Bohemia and his presidency of the Council; detailed the hopes which he and every one in Germany entertained of the Council's mediation. 'I was driven also to come here by observing the dissoluteness and disorder of the German clergy, by which the laity are sorely irritated against the Church—so much so, that there is reason to fear that, if the clergy do not amend their ways, the laity will attack them, as the Hussites do. If there had been no General Council, I should have thought it my duty as legate to summon a provincial synod for the reform of the clergy: for unless the clergy be reformed I fear that, even if the Bohemian heresy were extinguished, another would rise up in its place.' Having these

[1] John of Segovia, *Mon. Con.*, ii., 64.

opinions, he came to the Council and tried to conduct its business with diligence, thinking that such was the Pope's desire. 'I did not suppose that your holiness wished me to dissemble or act negligently; if you had bid me do so, I would have answered that you must lay that duty on another, for I have determined never to occupy the post of a dissembler.'

He then passed on to the question of the prorogation of the Council, and laid before the Pope the considerations which he would have urged if he had been in the Curia when the question was discussed. (1) The Bohemians have been summoned to the Council; its prorogation will be a flight before them on the part of the Church as disgraceful as the flight of the German army. 'By this flight we shall approve their errors and condemn the truth and justice of our own cause. Men will see in this the finger of God, and will see that the Bohemians can neither be vanquished by arms nor by argument. O luckless Christendom! O Catholic faith, abandoned by all; soldiers and priests alike desert thee; no one dares stand on thy side.' (2) This flight will lose the allegiance of wavering Catholics, amongst whom are already rife opinions contrary to the Holy See. (3) The ignominy of the flight will fall on the clergy, who will be universally attacked. (4) 'What will the world say when it hears of this? Will it not judge that the clergy is incorrigible and wishes to moulder in its abuses? So many Councils have been held in our time, but no reform has followed. Men were expecting some results from this Council; if it be dissolved they will say that we mock both God and men. The whole reproach, the whole shame and ignominy, will fall upon the Roman Curia as the cause and author of all these ills. Holy Father, may you never be the cause of such evils! At your hands will be required the blood of those that perish; about all things you will have to render a strict account at the judgment seat of God.' (5 and 6) To promote the pacification of Christendom ambassadors have been sent to make peace between England and France, between Poland

and the Teutonic Knights; the dissolution of the Council will stop their valuable labours. (7) There are disturbances in Magdeburg and Passau, where the people have risen against their bishops and show signs of following the Hussites. The Council may arrange these matters; if it be dissolved discord will spread. (8) The Duke of Burgundy has been asked by the Council to undertake the part of leader against the Hussites. If the Council be dissolved, he will be irritated against the Church, and his services will be lost. (9) Many German nobles are preparing for another expedition into Bohemia if need be. If they are deluded by the Pope, they will turn against the Church. 'I myself will rather die than live ignominiously. I will go perhaps to Nürnberg and place myself in the hands of these nobles that they may do with me what they will, even sell me to the heretics. All men shall know that I am innocent.' (10) The Council sent envoys to confirm the wavering on the Bohemian borders: if the Council be dissolved, their work will be undone and there will be a large addition to the Hussites.

He then proceeded to answer the Pope's objections. If he cannot conveniently come to Basel in person on account of his health, let him send a deputation of Cardinals and eminent persons. As to the safety of the place, it is as secure as Constance. It is said that the Pope fears lest the Council meddle with the temporalities of the Church. It is not reasonably to be expected that an ecclesiastical assembly will act to its own detriment. There have been many previous Councils with no such result. 'I fear lest it happen to us as it did to the Jews, who said, "If we let Him alone, the Romans will come and take away our place and nation". So we say, "If we let this Council alone, the laity will come and take away our temporalities". But by the just judgment of God the Jews lost their place because they would not let Christ alone; and by the just judgment of God, if we do not let this Council alone we shall lose our temporalities, and (God forbid) our lives and souls as well.'

Let the Pope, on the other hand, be friendly with the Council, reform his Curia, and be ready to act for the good of the Church. The Council is likely, if pressed to extremities, to refuse to dissolve, and there would be the danger of a schism. He begged to be relieved of his commission and complained of the want of straightforwardness. If he attempted to dissolve the Council, he would be stoned to death by the fathers; if he were to go away, the Council would be certain to appoint for itself another president.[1]

Open hostility between the Pope and the Council.

This letter is remarkable for its clear exhibition of the state of affairs in Europe at this time, and as we read it now, it is still more remarkable for the political instinct which enabled its writer to make so true a forecast of the future. It would have been well for Eugenius IV. if he had had the wisdom to appreciate its importance. It would have been well for the future of the Papacy if Cesarini's words had awakened an echo in the Court of Rome. As it was, the politicians of the Curia only smiled at the exalted enthusiasm of Cesarini, and Eugenius IV. was too narrow-minded and obstinate to reconsider the wisdom of a course of conduct which he had once adopted. He did not understand, nor did he care to understand, the sentiments of the Council. He had forgotten the current of feeling against the Papacy which had been so strong at Constance. The decrees of Constance were not among the Papal Archives; and one of the Cardinals who possessed a manuscript of Filastre was heard with astonishment by the Curia when he called attention to the decree which declared a General Council to be superior to the Pope.[2] At Basel, on the other hand, there were many copies of the Acts of the Council of Constance, and it was held that the Pope could not dissolve a General Council without its own consent. The rash step of Eugenius forced the Council into an attitude of open hostility towards the

[1] The letter is given in Æn. Syl., *Opera*, p. 64, in John of Segovia, 95, etc., and in Mansi.

[2] John of Segovia, p. 77.

Papacy, and a desperate struggle between the two powers was inevitable.

Sigismund makes an expedition into Italy. November, 1431.

The first question for both parties was the attitude of Sigismund. His personal interest in the settlement of the Hussite rebellion naturally inclined him to favour in every way the assembling of the Council. In July, 1431, he took the Council under his Imperial protection, and in August wrote in its interest to make peace between the Dukes of Austria and Burgundy. But Sigismund felt that the years which had elapsed since the Council of Constance had not been glorious to his reputation. He had failed ignominiously in Bohemia and had exercised little influence in Germany, where he had quarrelled with Frederick of Brandenburg, who was the most distinguished amongst the electors. His early enthusiasm for acting with dignity the part of secular head of Christendom had been damped at Constance, and he did not care to appear at Basel without some accession to his dignity. With characteristic desire for outward show, he determined on an expedition to Italy, to assume the Imperial crown. He hoped to establish once more the Imperial claims, to check the power of Venice, which was the enemy of Hungary, and to induce the Pope to come to Basel. Yet to attain all these objects he had only a following of some 2000 Hungarian and German knights.[1] His hopes were entirely built on the help of Filippo Maria Visconti, who was at war with Venice and Florence, and with whom Sigismund made a treaty in July. Before setting out for Italy he appointed William of Bavaria his vicegerent as Protector of the Council: then early in November he crossed the Alps, and on November 21 arrived in Milan. But the jealous and suspicious character of Filippo Maria Visconti could not bear the presence of a superior; he was afraid that Sigismund's presence might be the occasion of a rising against himself. Accordingly he gave orders that Sigis

[1] Poggio, *Hist. Flor.*, in Mur., xx., 379.

mund should be honourably received in Milan; but he himself withdrew from the city, and remained secluded in one of his castles. He refused to visit Sigismund, and gave the ridiculous excuse that his emotions were too strong; if he saw Sigismund he would die of joy.[1] Disappointed of his host, Sigismund could only hasten his coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy, which took place in the church of S. Ambrogio on November 25. He did not stay long in Milan, where he was treated with such suspicion, but in December passed on to Piacenza, where, on January 10, 1432, he received news of the Papal Bull dissolving the Council of Basel.

Sigismund had left Germany as the avowed Protector of the Council; but it was felt that his desire to obtain the Imperial crown gave the Pope considerable power of affixing stipulations to the coronation. In fact, Sigismund's relations with Eugenius IV. were not fortunate for the object which he had in view. Not only was the question of the Council an obstacle to their good understanding, but Sigismund's alliance with the Duke of Milan was displeasing to Eugenius IV., who as a Venetian was on the side of his native city. When Sigismund discovered how little he could depend on Filippo Maria Visconti his political position in Italy was sufficiently helpless. There were grave fears in Basel that he might abandon the cause of the Council as a means of reconciling himself with the Pope.

Relations of Sigismund to Eugenius IV. and the Council.

At first, however, Sigismund's attitude seemed firm enough. Immediately on hearing of the proposed dissolution of the Council he wrote to Basel, exhorting the fathers to stand firm, and saying that he had written to beg the Pope to reconsider his decision. The Council, on its side, wrote to Sigismund, affecting to disbelieve the

[1] Windeck, in Mencken, i., 1241: 'Er hatte sorge dass die stat Meylon sich an dem konig fluge und er kam nye zu dem konige; er sprach und nam sich an, "Sehe er den konige, er musste von frewden sterben". Es war aber ein getewsche.'

genuineness of the Bull brought by the Bishop of Parenzo,[1] and begging Sigismund to send William of Bavaria at once to Basel. On receipt of this letter Sigismund wrote again, thanking them for their zeal, saying that he was going at once to Rome to arrange matters with the Pope, and exhorting them to persevere in their course.

Resolute bearing of the Council. 1432.

Before it received the news of Sigismund's constancy the Council on January 21 issued a summons to all Christendom, begging those who were coming to the Council not to be discouraged at the rumours of its dissolution, as it was improbable that the Vicar of Christ, if well informed, would set aside the decrees of Constance, and bring ruin on the Church by dissolving the Council which was to extirpate heresy and reform abuses. Congregations were continued as usual to arrange preliminaries, and on February 3 William of Bavaria arrived in Basel, and was solemnly received as Sigismund's vicegerent. Prelates poured in to the Council, which daily became more numerous. The Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Savoy all wrote to express their co-operation with the Council. Cardinal Cesarini could not reconcile it with his allegiance to the Pope to continue as President of the Council in spite of the Pope's wishes, and the breach with the Papacy was made more notorious by the election of a new President, Philibert, Bishop of Coutances. As a farther sign of its determination the Council ordered a seal to be made for its documents. Its impress was God the Father sending down the Holy Spirit on the Pope and Emperor sitting in Council surrounded by Cardinals, prelates, and doctors.[2]

On February 15 was held the second general session, in which was rehearsed the famous decree of Constance, that

[1] 'Quidam episcopus Parentinus SS. domini nostri Summi Pontificis *assertus* thesaurarius *quasdam prætensas* litteras apostolicas dissolutionis dictæ sacræ synodi, ut accepimus, attulit.'—Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 53.

[2] It bore the legend: 'Sigillum sacri generalis Concilii Basileensis universalem ecclesiam representantis'.—John of Segovia, p. 122.

'a General Council has its power immediately from Christ, and that all of every rank, even the Papal, are bound to obey it in matters pertaining to the faith, the extirpation of heresy, and the reformation of the Church in head and members'. It was decreed that the Council could not be dissolved against its will, and that all proceedings of the Pope against any of its members, or any who were coming to incorporate themselves with it, were null and void. This was the Council's answer to the Pope's Bull of dissolution. The two powers now stood in open antagonism, and each claimed the allegiance of Christendom. The movement against the Papal monarchy, which had been started by the Schism, found its full expression at Basel. The Council of Pisa had merely aided the Cardinals in their efforts to restore peace to the disturbed Church; the Council of Constance had been a more resolute endeavour for the same purpose of the temporal and spiritual authorities of Christendom. But the Council of Basel asserted against a legitimate Pope, who was universally recognised, the superiority of a General Council over the Papacy. It was a revolt of the ecclesiastical aristocracy against the Papal absolutism, and the fate of the revolt was a question of momentous consequences for the future of the Church.

The Council of Basel reasserts the principles of Constance. February 15, 1432.

After this declaration the Council busily sent envoys throughout Christendom, and set to work to organise itself for the transaction of business. The means for this purpose had been under discussion since September, 1431, and in the plan adopted we recognise the statesmanlike capacity of Cesarini.[1] The fortunes of the Council of Constance showed the danger of national jealousies and political complications in an ecclesiastical synod. It was resolved at Basel to avoid the division by

Organisation of the Council of Basel.

[1] John of Segovia, 126, says that the suggestion of the deputations came from John of Ragusa, 'velut subitanea inspiratione'; considering the relations in which he stood towards Cesarini, the source of the inspiration seems pretty obvious.

nations, and to work by means of four committees, which were to prepare business for the general sessions of the Council. As the objects of the Council were the suppression of heresy, the reform of the Church, and the pacification of Christendom, these objects were confided to the care of deputations of Faith, of Reformation, and of Peace, while a fourth was added for common and necessary business. The deputations were formed equally out of every nation and every rank of the hierarchy. They elected their own officers, and chose a new president every month. Every four months the deputations were dissolved and reconstituted, care being taken that a few of the old members remained. As a link between the four deputations was appointed monthly a committee of twelve, chosen equally from the four nations, who decided about the incorporation of new members with the Council, and their distribution among the deputations. They decided also the allotment of business to the several deputations, received their reports, and submitted them to a general congregation. At each election four of the old members were left to maintain the continuity of tradition; but the same men might not be reappointed twice. For the formal supervision of the Council's business was a small committee of four, one appointed by each deputation, through whom passed all the letters of the Council, which it was their duty to seal. If they were dissatisfied with the form of the contents, they remitted the letter, with a statement of their reasons, to the deputation from which it originated.

This system, which was conceived in the spirit of a liberal oligarchy, was calculated to promote freedom of discussion and to eliminate as much as possible political and national feeling. Secrecy in the conduct of business was forbidden, and members of one deputation were encouraged to discuss their affairs with members of the other deputations. The deputations met three times a week, and could only undertake the business laid before them by the president. When they were agreed about a matter, it was laid before a general

congregation ; if three of the deputations, at least, were then in favour of it, it was brought before the Council in general session in the cathedral, and was finally adopted. Every precaution was taken to ensure full discussion and practical unanimity before the final settlement of any question. The organisation of the Council was as democratic as anything at that time could be.[1]

Council recognised by France and Bohemia. February, 1432.

The first deputations were appointed on the last day of February. It was not long before cheering news reached the Council. The French clergy, in a synod held at Bourges on February 26, declared their adhesion to the objects set forth by the Council, and besought the King to send envoys to the Pope to beg him to recall his dissolution ; and at the same time to send envoys to Sigismund to urge that nothing should be done by the Council against the ecclesiastical authority, lest thereby a plausible pretext for transferring the Council elsewhere be afforded to the Pope. The letters of Sigismund to the Council assured it of his fidelity ; and his ambassadors to the Pope on March 17 affirmed that Sigismund's coming to Italy aimed only at a peaceful solution of the religious and political difficulties of Europe, and was prompted by no motives of personal ambition. He wished the Pope to understand that he was not prepared to win his coronation by a desertion of the Council's cause. From Bohemia also came the news that the Pragers had consented to negotiate with the Council on the basis of the Four Articles, and had desired a preliminary conference at Eger with the envoys of the Council, to which the Fathers at Basel readily assented.

Sigismund and Eugenius IV.

Yet the success of the Council and the entreaties of Sigismund were alike unavailing to move the stubborn mind of the Pope. Envoys and letters passed between Sigismund and Eugenius IV., with the sole result of ultimately bringing the two into a position

[1] For the organisation of the Council see John of Segovia, 122 and 271 ; and Aug. Patricius in Hartzsheim, v., 788 ; Mansi, xxix., 377.

of avowed hostility. Sigismund said that no one could dissolve the Council, which had been duly summoned. Eugenius IV. answered with savage sarcasm, 'In what you write touching the celebration and continuation of the Council you have said several things contrary to the Gospel of Christ, the Holy Scripture, the sacred canons and the civil laws; although we know these assertions do not proceed from you, because you are unskilled in such matters and know better how to fight, as you do manfully, against the Turks and elsewhere, in which pursuit, I trust, you may prosper'.[1] Sigismund must have felt keenly the sneer at his failures in the field. He fancied himself mighty with the pen and with the tongue, but even his vanity could not claim the glory of a successful general.

Sigismund warmly declares for the Council. April, 1432.

Sigismund had gone to Italy with the light-heartedness which characterised his doings. He hoped to indulge his love of display and at the same time fill his empty pockets. His coronation would give him the right of granting new privileges and would bring presents from the Jews. He was not sorry to send William of Bavaria to Basel in his stead, for he did not at first wish to commit himself too definitely to the Council's side; if the Council could restore peace in Bohemia, he was ready to support it; otherwise its action might come into collision with the Imperial pretensions. So long as Sigismund was doubtful about the Bohemian acceptance of the Council's invitation, and about the Pope's pliancy, he wished not to commit himself too far. Hence William of Bavaria had a delicate part to play at Basel, where he distinguished himself at first by care for the Council's decorum, and forbade dancing on fast days, to the indignation of the ladies of Basel.[2] But soon William had more important

[1] John of Segovia, 179; also Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 129.

[2] They complained: 'Wäre unser Herr der König selbst hier und sein lieber Caspar (*i.e.*, Schlick, the royal chancellor), sie hätten uns unsere Freude nicht verd orben; aber weil der Herzog selbst keine Freude hat und nicht zu uns gehen will, so will er sie uns auch nicht gönnen': from a letter to Schlick, in Kluckhohn, *Herzog Wilhelm von Bayern* in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, ii., 521, etc.

work to do, as Sigismund found that he needed the Council's help for his Italian projects. He had hoped, with the help of Milan, Savoy, and Ferrara, to overcome Florence and Venice, and so force the Pope to crown him. But when the Duke of Milan openly mocked him, Sigismund was driven to make a desperate effort to retrieve his ignominious position. He could not leave Italy without the Imperial crown; if he set himself to win it by submission to the Pope, Bohemia would be lost for ever. He had tried to reconcile the Pope and the Council; but Eugenius IV. scornfully refused his mediation. The only remaining course was to cast in his lot with the Council, and use it as a means to force the Pope to satisfy his demands. On April 1, 1432, he wrote to William begging him to keep the Council together, and not to allow it to dissolve before the threats of the Papal dissolution. He advised the Council to invite the Pope and Cardinals to appear at Basel; he even suggested that if the Council called him to its aid, its summons would afford him an honourable pretext for leaving Italy. Acting on these instructions, William prompted the Fathers at Basel to take steps to prevent Eugenius IV. from holding his Council in Bologna as he proposed to do. Accordingly, on April 29, the Council in a general session called on Eugenius IV. to revoke his Bull of dissolution, and summoned him and the Cardinals to appear at Basel within three months; in case Eugenius could not come personally he was to send representatives.

The support of Sigismund and the obvious necessity of endeavouring to find some peaceable settlement for the Bohemian question made Europe in general acquiesce in the proceedings of the Council. No nation openly espoused the Papal side or refused to recognise the Council, which gradually increased in numbers. In the beginning of April the deputations contained in all eighty-one members;[1] and as

Domenico Capranica comes to Basel to seek confirmation for his Cardinalate. 1432.

[1] John of Segovia, 151.

the hostility between the Pope and the Council became more decidedly pronounced all who were on personal grounds opposed to Eugenius IV. began to flock to Basel. Foremost amongst these was Domenico Capranica, Bishop of Fermo, who had been a favourite official of Martin V., and had been by him created Cardinal, though the creation had not been published at the time of his death. This secrecy on the part of Martin V. arose from a desire to abide as closely as possible by the decrees of Constance forbidding the excessive increase of the Cardinalate. He endeavoured, however, to secure himself at the expense of his successor by binding the Cardinals to an undertaking that in case he died before the publication of such creations, they would, nevertheless, admit those so created to the Conclave. On Martin V.'s death Capranica hastened to Rome and presented himself as a member of the Conclave; but the Cardinals were in violent reaction against Martin V. and the Colonna, and refused to admit one of their adherents. The new Pope involved Capranica in his general hatred of the Colonna party, denied him the Cardinal's hat, and showed the greatest animosity against him. Capranica for a time was driven to hide himself, and at last set off to Basel to obtain from the Council the justice which was refused him by the Pope.[1] On his way through Siena he engaged as secretary a young man, aged twenty-six, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, sprung from an old but impoverished family. Æneas found the need of making his way in the world, and eagerly embraced this opportunity of finding a wider field for the talents which he had already begun to display in the University of Siena. No one suspected that this young Sienese secretary was destined to play a more important part in the history of the Council and of the Church than any of those already at Basel, when in May Capranica entered Basel, where he was received with distinction, and in time received full recognition of his rank, which Eugenius IV. afterwards confirmed.

[1] See the life of Capranica by Battista Poggio, in Baluze, *Miscellanea* (Paris, 1680), iii., 266, etc.

In Italy Eugenius IV. found that things were going against him. In Rome the Cardinals were by no means satisfied with the aspect of affairs and many of them secretly left the city.[1] The efforts of Eugenius IV. to stop Sigismund's progress and raise up enemies to him in Italy were not successful. From Piacenza Sigismund passed to Parma and thence in May to Lucca, where he was threatened with siege by the Florentines. In July he advanced safely to Siena, where he fixed his abode till he could go to Rome. In Basel the Council pursued its course with firmness and discretion. The conference with the Bohemians at Eger resulted in the settlement of preliminaries about the appearance of Bohemian representatives at Basel. The Bohemians claimed that they should be received honourably, allowed a fair hearing, be regarded in the discussion as free from all ecclesiastical censures, be allowed to use their own worship, and be permitted to argue on the grounds of 'God's law, the practice of Christ, the Apostles, and the primitive Church, as well as Councils and doctors founded on the same true and impartial judge'.[2] Their proposals were willingly received by the majority at Basel, and in the fourth session, on June 20, a safe-conduct to their representatives was issued. At the same time a blow was aimed against the Pope by a decree that, if a vacancy occurred in the Papacy, the new election should be made at Basel and not elsewhere. Another and still bolder proceeding was the appointment by the Council of the Cardinal of S. Eustachio as legate for Avignon and the Venaisin, on the ground that the city was dissatisfied with the Papal governor and the Council thought it right to interfere in the interests of peace.

The Bohemians agree to send envoys to Basel. June, 1432

[1] The Ambassador of the Teutonic Knights says (Voigt, *Stimmen aus Rom.; Hist. Taschenbuch*, iv., 75): 'Ich fürchte dass ein Schisma ausbrechen und der Hof in Rom übel stehen wird. Die Cardinäle ziehen von Rom heimlich ohne Urlaub weg, weil man diesen einem Jeden versagt.'

[2] Articles in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 131.

The Council accuses the Pope of contumacy. September, 1432.

Eugenius IV. saw that unless he took some steps to prevent it another schism was imminent. He attempted to renew negotiations with Sigismund, and sent four envoys, headed by the Archbishops of Tarento and Colocza, to Basel, where they arrived on August 14. They proposed a future Council at Avignon, Mantua, or Ferrara. It was evident that the sole object of the Papal envoys was to shake the allegiance of waverers and spread discord in the Council. To repel this insidious attempt the promoters of the Council, in its sixth session, on September 6, accused the Pope and Cardinals of contumacy, for not appearing in answer to the summons, and demanded that sentence should be passed against them. The Papal envoys were driven to demand a prolongation of the term allowed, which was granted. After this, on September 9, Cesarini again resumed the presidency of the Council, judging, it would seem, that moderation was more than ever necessary.

Sigismund uses the Council to subdue the Pope. November, 1432.

Eugenius IV. now turned his attention to Sigismund, whose position in Siena was sufficiently pitiable. Deserted by the Duke of Milan and his Italian allies, he was cut off by the Florentine forces from advancing to Rome, and was, as he himself said, caged like a wild beast within the walls of Siena.[1] It was natural that Sigismund should be anxious to catch at the Pope's help to release him from such an ignominious position. When Eugenius IV. promised to send two Cardinals to confer with him, Sigismund wrote to the Council urging it to suspend its process against the Pope, until he tried the result of negotiations, or of a personal interview. The Council was uneasy at this, and begged Sigismund to have no dealings with the Pope until he recognised its authority. Sigismund answered, on October

[1] Bonincontrii Annales, Mur., xxi., 140: 'Audivi ego sæpius illum dicentem quum Senis essem, "Ego ulciscar de illo perfidissimo tyranno (Filippo Maria Visconti) qui me Senis tanquam belluam collocavit"'. William of Bavaria calls him 'ein betrübter verlassener armer Herr,' Kluckhohn, 562,

31, that such was his intention, but that he judged it wise to see the Pope personally, and so arrange things peaceably. The Council grew increasingly suspicious, and Sigismund did not find that his negotiations with the Pope were leading to any satisfactory conclusion. Again he swung round to the Council's side,[1] which, strengthened by his support, in its eighth session, on December 12, granted Eugenius IV. and the Cardinals a further term of sixty days, within which they were to give in their adhesion to the Council, or the charge of contumacy against them would be proceeded with.

So far Sigismund and the Council were agreed; but their ends were not the same. Sigismund wished only for a pacification of Bohemia and his own coronation; so far as the Council promoted these ends it was useful to him, and he was resolved to use it to the uttermost. Accordingly, on January 22, 1433, William of Bavaria prevailed on the Council to pass a decree taking the King under its protection. By this means Sigismund was helped both against the Pope and the Council; for if the Council made good its claim to elect a new Pope, it might proceed to elect a new King of the Romans as well. The reason of this decree was a rumour that Eugenius IV. intended to excommunicate Sigismund. The Council pronounced all Papal proceedings against him to be null and void.

The Council takes Sigismund under its protection. January, 1433.

Eugenius IV. at last felt himself beaten. The Council had taken precautions against every means of attack which the Papal authority possessed. The Pope had succeeded in driving Sigismund to espouse warmly the Council's cause, and was alarmed to hear that he was engaged in negotiating peace with the Florentines.[2] The arrival of the Bohemian envoys at Basel, on January 4, gave the Council a real importance in the eyes of Europe. The Council was conscious of its strength, and on February 19 appointed judges to examine

Eugenius IV. revokes his dissolution of the Council. February, 1433.

[1] See his letter of November 22, in John of Segovia, 292.

[2] See Sigismund's letter to the Council, dated January 7, 1433, in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 533.

the process against Eugenius IV. But Eugenius had been preparing to retreat step by step from a position which he felt to be untenable, and strove to discover the smallest amount of concession which would free him from his embarrassment. He sent envoys to Basel, who proposed that the Council should transfer itself to Bologna; when this was refused, they asked that it should select some place in Italy for a future Council. Next they offered that the question whether the Council should be held in Germany or Italy should be referred to a committee of twelve; finally they proposed that any city in Germany except Basel should be the seat of a new Council.[1] When the Fathers at Basel would have none of these things, Eugenius IV. at last issued a Bull announcing his willingness that the Council should be held at Basel, whither he proposed to send his legates; on March 1 he nominated four Cardinals to that office.

The Council asserts its authority. April 27, 1433.

Sigismund rejoiced at this removal of the obstacles which stood in the way of his coronation; he was anxious that the Council should accept the Pope's Bull and so do away with all hostility between himself and Eugenius IV. But the Fathers at Basel looked somewhat suspiciously on the concessions which had been wrung with such difficulty from the Pope. They observed that the Bull did not recognise the existing Council, but declared that a Council should be held by his legates. Moreover, he limited the scope of the Council to the two points of the reduction of heretics and the pacification of Christendom, omitting the reformation of the Church. It was argued that Eugenius IV. had not complied with their demand that he should withdraw his dissolution; he refused to recognise anything done at Basel before the coming of his legates.[2] Determined to affirm its authority before the arrival of the Papal legates, the Council passed a decree on April 27, renewing the decree of Constance about the cele-

[1] These wearisome negotiations are told by John of Segovia, 338, etc., and are recapitulated in the Council's letter of June 16, 374.

[2] See letter of the Council, June 13, in John of Segovia, 375.

bration of General Councils at least every tenth year; asserting that the members of a Council might assemble of their own accord at the fixed period; and that a Pope who tried to impede or prorogue a Council should after four months' warning be suspended, and then after two months be deprived of office. It was decreed that the present Council could not be dissolved nor transferred without the consent of two-thirds of each deputation and the subsequent approbation of two-thirds of a general congregation. The Cardinals were henceforth to make oath before entering the Conclave that whoever was elected Pope would obey the Constance decrees. To give all possible notority to these decrees, all prelates were ordered to publish them in their synods or chapters. So far as a new constitution can be secured on paper, the Council of Basel made sure for the future the new principles of Church Government on which it claimed to act. It was a transference to ecclesiastical matters of the parliamentary opposition to monarchy which was making itself felt in European politics.

When the Papal legates arrived and claimed to share with Cesarini the office of president, Cesarini answered that he was the officer of the Council and must obey their will in the matter. The Council, in a congregation on June 13, answered that they could not admit the claim of the Pope to influence their deliberations by means of his legates: not only the President, but the Pope himself, was bound to obey the Council's decrees. They were bent upon asserting most fully the supremacy of a General Council, and aimed at converting the Pope into its chief official. The concessions made by Eugenius IV. had not ended the conflict between him and the Fathers at Basel. They had rather brought more clearly to light the full opposition that had arisen between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the Papal monarchy.

But Eugenius IV. had not so much aimed at a reconciliation with the Council as a reconciliation with Sigismund. He saw that for this purpose concessions must be made to the Council; but he hoped

Straits of Eugenius IV.

with Sigismund's help to reduce the Council in course of time. Sigismund's position in Italy made him eager to catch at any concession on the part of Eugenius which would allow him to proceed to his coronation without abandoning the Council, from which he hoped for a settlement of his Bohemian difficulties. He received with joy the Pope's advances; and Eugenius on his side felt the need of Sigismund's protection even in Rome. Five Cardinals besides Capranica had already left him and joined the Council. The officials of the Curia grew doubtful in their allegiance, and began to think that their interests would be better served in Basel than in Rome. On March 11, the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, as he went from the commemoration service he was beset by members of the Curia, who craved with tears leave to depart,[1] and followed him with their cries to the door of the Consistory. A few had leave given them, and all were bent on departure.

Reconciliation of Sigismund and Eugenius IV. April 7, 1433.

In this state of affairs Eugenius IV. saw the wisdom of gratifying Sigismund in the two matters which he had at heart, the pacification of Italy and his coronation as Emperor. There were not many difficulties in the way of peace. Florence, Venice, and the Duke of Milan were all equally weary of war; and the Pope had little difficulty in inducing them to submit their grievances to Niccolo of Este, Lord of Ferrara, who at that time played the honourable part of mediator in Italian affairs. By his help the preliminaries of peace were arranged at Ferrara on April 7; and on the same day Sigismund's envoys arranged with the Pope the preliminaries of the Imperial coronation. Sigismund acknowledged that 'he

[1] Report from Rome, in Königsberg Archives, printed by Voigt, *Æneas Sylvio de' Piccolomini*, i., 443: 'Et quia propter decreta Concilii multi Curtesani recesserunt et fere omnes se preparant ad recedendum. . . . Omnes Curtesani de omni nacione concorditer in die Coronacionis moderni pontificis commemorati, dummodo papa exivit de capella majori, flexis genibus volebant petere licenciam, sed non exauditi. Omnes pariter clamabant voce lacrimabili licenciam, licenciam, sequendo dominum nostrum usque ad locum consistorialem. . . . Omnes habent animum recedendi, sed non audent et nec habent lucrum, stant in tribulacionibus.'

had always held and holds Eugenius as the true and undoubted Pope, canonically elected; and with all reverence, diligence, care, and labour, among all kings and princes, all persons in the world ecclesiastical as well as secular, venerates, protests, and acts in defence of his holiness, and the Church of God, so long as he shall live, faithfully and with a true heart, according to his knowledge and power, without fraud or guile, so far as with God's help he may'.[1] He agreed also to stay at Rome for a time after his coronation, and labour for the peace of Christendom and especially of Italy.

This alliance of the Pope and Sigismund was naturally regarded with growing suspicion at Basel. Sigismund's letters to the Council changed in tone, and dwelt upon the evils of scandal in the Church and the disastrous effects of a schism. On May 9 he urged the Council to treat the Papal legates with kindness, and to abstain from anything that might lead to an open rupture. The Council loudly exclaimed that the Pope had beguiled the King under the pretence of a coronation, and meant to keep him in Rome as a protection to himself. Sigismund, however, hastened his coronation, and on May 21 entered Rome with an escort of 600 knights and 800 foot. Riding beneath a golden canopy he was met by the city magistrates and a crowd of people. The bystanders thought that his deportment showed a just mixture of affability and dignity; his smiling face wore an expression of refinement and geniality, while his long grizzly beard lent majesty to his appearance.[2] On the steps of S. Peter's, Eugenius in pontifical robes greeted Sigismund, who kissed his foot, his hand, his face. After mass was said Sigismund took up his

Sigismund's coronation. May 31, 1433.

[1] *Pacta*, in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 580.

[2] Poggio, in a letter to Niccolo Niccoli, in Baluze, *Miscell.*, iii., 184, describes Sigismund's entrance and coronation; of himself he says: 'Aspectu perhumanus, ridenti similis, facie hilari atque liberali, barba subcana ac prolixa, ea inest in vultu comitas et majestas, ut qui illum ignorarent ipso conspectu et oris egregia specie cæterorum regem opinarentur'.

abode in the palace of the Cardinal of Arles, close to S. Peter's. On Whit Sunday, May 31, the coronation took place. Before the silver door of S. Peter's, Sigismund swore to observe all the constitutions made by his predecessors, as far back as Constantine, in favour of the Church. Then the Pope proceeded to the high altar and Sigismund was conducted by three Cardinals to the Church of S. John Lateran, where before the altar of S. Maurice he was consecrated canon of the Church. He returned to S. Peter's, and took his place by the side of the Pope, each seated under a tabernacle erected for the purpose. The mass was begun, and after the epistle the Pope and Sigismund advanced to the altar. The Pope set on Sigismund's head first the white mitre of a bishop and then the golden crown; he took from the altar, and gave into his hands, the sword, the sceptre, and the golden apple of the Empire. When the mass was ended the Pope and Emperor gave one another the kiss of peace. Then Sigismund took the sword in his hand, and Eugenius, holding the crucifix, gave him his solemn benediction. When this was over they walked side by side to the church door: the Pope mounted his mule, which Sigismund led by the bridle for a few paces and then mounted his horse. Eugenius accompanied him to the bridge of S. Angelo, where Sigismund kissed his hand and he returned to the Vatican. On the bridge Sigismund, according to custom, exercised his new authority by dubbing a number of knights, Romans and Germans, amongst others his chancellor Caspar Schlick. The Imperial procession went through the streets to the Lateran, where Sigismund dismounted.

The days that followed were spent in formal business such as Sigismund delighted in. Letters had to be written and all grants and diplomas given by the King of the Romans needed the Imperial confirmation, which was a source of no small profit to the Imperial chancery. It is worth noticing that after his coronation Sigismund engraved on his seal a double eagle, to mark the union of his dignities

of Emperor and Roman King. From this time dates the use of the double-headed eagle as the Imperial ensign.

Sigismund mediates between the Pope and the Council. June—August, 1433.

It soon, however, became obvious that Sigismund's coronation had affected his relations towards the Council. He was still anxious for its success in the important points of the reconciliation of the Bohemians; but he had no longer any interest in the constitutional question of the relations which ought to exist between Popes and General Councils. No doubt this question had been a useful means of bringing Eugenius IV. to acknowledge the Council; now that he had done so, and Sigismund had obtained from the Pope what he wanted, his instincts as a practical statesman taught him that in the midst of the agitation of European politics it was hopeless for a Council to continue on abstract grounds a struggle against the Pope, which could only lead to another schism. On June 4 he wrote to the Council announcing his coronation, and saying that he found in the Pope the best intentions towards furthering all the objects which the Council had at heart.[1] His envoys on their arrival at Basel found the Council preparing accusations against Eugenius, and the seven Cardinals present engaged in discussing the canonicity of his election. They had some difficulty in persuading the Council to moderation, but at last obtained on July 13 a decree which, while denouncing in no measured terms the contumacy of Eugenius IV., extended again for sixty days the period for an unreserved withdrawal of his Bull of dissolution, and for a declaration of his entire adhesion to the Council. If he did not comply within that time the Council would at once proceed to his suspension. Eugenius, trusting to the help of Sigismund, showed a less conciliatory spirit; for he issued a Bull withdrawing from the Council all private questions, and limiting its activity to the three points of the extirpation of heresy, the pacification of Christendom, and the reform of manners. In the same

[1] Letter in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 607.

sense Sigismund's envoys on August 18 brought a message to the Council, exhorting to greater diligence in the matters of pacification and reform, for so far no fruits of its energies were apparent. He warned it against creating a schism, for after extinguishing one at Constance he would rather die than see another.[1] He begged the Fathers to suspend all proceedings against the Pope till his arrival at Basel, when he hoped to remove all difficulties between them and the Pope. The Council answered that it was the Pope and not the Council that was causing a schism; the relations of the Pope to a General Council was a matter concerning the faith and the reformation of the Church, and nothing could be done on these points till the present scandal was removed. Sigismund, in fact, was asking the Council to desist from measures which he had formerly urged. The Council naturally demanded securities for the future. Its position was undoubtedly logical, though practically unwise. Eugenius IV., to strengthen Sigismund's hands, issued a Bull on August 1 expressing, at Sigismund's request, his 'willingness and acquiescence' (*volumus et contentamur*) that the Council should be recognised as valid from its commencement. He declared that he entirely accepted the Council, and demanded that his legates should be admitted as presidents, and that all proceedings against his person and authority should be rescinded. The Fathers at Basel naturally looked closely into the language of the Bull. They were not satisfied that the validity of the Council from the beginning should merely be tolerated by the Pope. They wished for the Papal 'decree and declaration' (*decernimus et declaramus*) that it had been valid all along. Every step towards conciliation only brought into greater prominence the fact that the Council claimed to be superior to the Pope,

[1] John of Segovia, 409: 'Porro quia nephandum scisma extinctum fuerat in Constanciensi Concilio, pro qua re tot tantosque labores sustinuisset, avisabat taliter fieri ne suscitaretur, quia preeligeret mori quam suis diebus scisma videre'. See also letter of August 3 in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 626.

and that Eugenius was determined not to suffer any derogation from the Papal autocracy.[1]

In this view of Eugenius IV. Sigismund acquiesced. He wished the Council to engage in more practical business, and he dreaded as a statesman the consequences of another schism. In this he was joined by the Kings of England and France, the German Electors, and the Duke of Burgundy. All of them urged upon the Council the inexpediency of provoking a schism. Eugenius IV.'s repeated attempts at compromise at length created a feeling of sympathy in his favour. He had given way, it was urged, on the practical points at issue. The Council did not meet with much attention when it answered that he had not conceded the principle which was at stake in the conflict. The great majority were in favour of proceeding to the suspension of Eugenius IV. when the term expired; but the remonstrances of the Imperial ambassadors, and the consideration that an open breach with Sigismund would render Basel an insecure place for the Council, so far prevailed that in the session of September 11 a further term of thirty days was granted to Eugenius IV., on the understanding that within that time Sigismund would appear in Basel.

Sigismund draws to the Pope's side. August, 1433.

Sigismund meanwhile at Rome had been employing his versatile mind in studying the antiquities of the city, and drinking in the enthusiasm of the Renaissance under the guidance of the famous antiquary Ciriaco of Ancona. He lived in familiar intercourse with Eugenius IV., and a story is told which illustrates the mixture of penetration and levity which marked Sigismund's character. One day he said to the Pope, 'Holy Father,

Sigismund comes to Basel. October 11, 1433.

[1] See an interesting letter of Eugenius IV. to the Doge of Venice, in Raynaldus, 433, 19: 'Potius enim hanc Apostolicam dignitatem et vitam insuper possuissemus quam voluissemus esse causa et initium ut Pontificalis dignitas et Apostolicæ sedis auctoritas submitteretur Concilio, contra omnes canonicas sanctiones; quod nunquam antea neque aliquis nostrorum predecessorum fecit, neque ab ullo extitit requisitum, atque in hoc ipse postmodum imperator acquievit'.

there are three things in which we are alike, and three in which we are different. You sleep in the morning, I rise before daybreak; you drink water, I wine; you shun women, I pursue them. But in some things we agree: you distribute the treasures of the Church, I keep nothing for myself; you have gouty hands, I gouty feet; you are bringing the Church and I the Empire to the ground.' But these days of peaceful enjoyment were disturbed by the news from Basel, where it was clear that Sigismund's presence was needed. On August 21 he left Rome, and journeyed through Perugia, Rimini, and Ferrara to Mantua. He would not go through the territories of the Duke of Milan, against whom he nourished the deepest anger. Venice took occasion of his wrath to make an alliance with him for five years, in return for which they gave the needy Emperor ten thousand ducats to pay the expenses of his journey from Rome to Germany. From Mantua Sigismund hastened to Basel, so as to reach it at the end of the term granted to the Pope. He arrived unexpectedly on October 11, having come through the Tyrol to the Lake of Constance, and thence by boat to Basel. So hasty had been his journey that he brought little baggage with him, and before entering Basel the Imperial beggar had to send to the magistrates for a pair of shoes.

Sigismund pleads for Eugenius IV. Oct., 1433.

The Fathers of the Council hastily assembled to show Sigismund such honour as they could. He was escorted to the cathedral, where he took his place on the raised seat generally occupied by the Cardinals, who now sat on lower benches. There he addressed the congregation, setting forth his zeal for the Council's cause, as his hasty journey testified; he asked for further delay in the proceedings against the Pope, that he might carry out successfully the work of pacification on which he was engaged. To this the Council did not at once assent, but urged that the Pope's suspension might help on Sigismund's endeavours. Murmurs were heard on all sides, and it was clear that Sigismund's authority was not omnipotent at Basel. The Council was filled with the enemies of

Eugenius IV., and was convinced of its own power and importance. Sigismund reminded the Fathers that the Emperor was guardian of the temporalities of the Church. He was answered that it was also his duty to execute the decrees of the Church. He angrily asserted that neither he nor any of the kings and princes of Christendom would permit the horrors of another schism. In his vehemence he forgot his Latin, and gave *schisma* the feminine gender. It was maliciously said that he wished to show the Council how dear the matter was to his heart.[1] At last the Council, which was not really in a position to resist, reluctantly granted a prolongation of the term to Eugenius IV. for eight days.

Prolongation of the term granted to Eugenius IV. November 7, 1433.

Sigismund found it necessary to change his tactics and listen to the Council's side of the quarrel, as at Rome he had listened to the Pope. He conferred with the ambassadors and with the chiefs of the Council, and was present at a public disputation on October 16 between the president, Cesarini, and the Papal envoys. Cesarini spoke for three hours in behalf of a Council's superiority over a Pope. He argued that the Bulls of Eugenius IV. refused to admit this proposition, and that without securing the means of a reformation of the head of the Church it was useless to reform the members; as to the Pope's demand that all proceedings against himself should be revoked, there were no proceedings if only he did his duty. On behalf of Eugenius IV. the Archbishop of Spoleto urged the sufficiency and reasonableness of his proposal, to revoke his decrees against the Council if the Council would revoke its proceedings against himself. There were replies and counter-replies, but both parties were equally far from an agreement. A second prolongation of eight days to Eugenius IV. was obtained by Sigis-

[1] John of Segovia, p. 465, from whom this account is taken, is clearly trying to elevate a current witticism to the dignity of history when he says: 'Cum vero de scismate loquebatur, ut communiter usus est genere feminino, judicio autem presencium non generis neutri ignarus aut immenor, sed ut attenciores redderet audientes percipere, que de scismate loquebatur, cordi ejus radicitus inesse'.

mund by a repetition of his former assertion, that he could not endure a schism. This was succeeded by a third, on which Sigismund repeated an old doggerel about the three Emperors Otto, which afforded him a pun on the eight days (*octo dies*) of the prolongation :—

Otto post Otto regnabit tertius Otto.

Sigismund and the ambassadors of France united in urging the Council to give Eugenius IV. a security that no proceedings would be taken affecting his title to the Papacy. Words ran high on this proposal, and at length, on November 7, Sigismund's persistency succeeded in extorting from the Council a further term of ninety days, within which the Pope was to explain the ambiguities in his decrees by revoking anything which could be construed to the 'derogation or prejudice' of the Council.

Decree establishing synodal action throughout the Church. November 26, 1433.

In the interval Sigismund urged the Council to proceed with the question of reform, a matter which had been making little progress during the excitement of this conflict with the Pope. The only point in which the Council had taken up reform was to use it as a weapon against the Pope. On July 13 a decree had been passed abolishing reservations and provisions except in the domain of the Holy See, and enacting that elections should be made only by those to whom the right belonged, and that no dues be paid for Papal confirmation. This was merely an onslaught on the Pope's revenues, and was scarcely meant seriously. In answer to Sigismund's exhortations the Council embodied, in a decree on November 26, the only point on which there was agreement, the revival of the synodal system of the Church. The Council's scheme of reform was to extend the conciliar system to all parts of the ecclesiastical organisation. By means of diocesan synods the bishops were to put down heresies and remedy scandals in their respective dioceses, and were to be themselves restrained by provincial synods, whose activity was to be in turn ensured by the recurrence

of General Councils. It was on all grounds easier to agree on machinery which was to deal with questions in the future than to amend abuses in the present.

Even this measure of reform was secondary to a violent dispute which convulsed the Council concerning precedence in seats at the sessions between the ambassadors of the Imperial Electors and those of the Duke of Burgundy. So keen was the contention that it almost prevented the solemn celebration of the Christmas services, and was only ended in July, 1434, by assigning a separate bench to the representatives of the Electors immediately below the Cardinals, and arranging that the Burgundian envoys should sit next to those of kings. This burning question was further complicated by the claims of the envoys of the Duke of Brittany to be as good as those of the Duke of Burgundy; at last it was arranged that the Burgundians should sit on the right, the Bretons on the left.

Struggles about precedence.

In the middle of the controversy came envoys from Eugenius IV., on January 30, 1434, announcing that he had at last given way. They brought a Bull revoking all previous Bulls against the Council, acknowledging its legitimacy from its beginning, and declaring fully the Pope's adhesion to it. Great was Sigismund's joy at this triumph of his mediatorial policy. Great was the relief of all parties at Basel when, in the sixteenth session on February 3, the Council decreed that Eugenius IV. had fully satisfied their admonition and summons. It was under the pressure of necessity that Eugenius IV. had given way. His impetuous rashness had raised up enemies against him on every side. He had begun his pontificate by attacking the powerful family of the Colonna. He had plunged into Italian politics as a strong friend of Venice, and thereby had drawn upon himself the animosity of the wily Duke of Milan. With these elements of disturbance at his doors he had not hesitated to bid defiance to a Council which had the support of the whole of Christendom. Basel had become in consequence

Eugenius IV. recognises the Council. January 30, 1434.

the resort of the personal and political enemies of the Pope, and on Sigismund's departure from Rome Eugenius was threatened in his own city. The Duke of Milan sent against him the condottiere Niccolo de Fortebracchio, nephew of Braccio da Montone, who on August 25, 1433, captured Ponte Molle. The Pope fled for safety to the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, and in vain called for help. Fortebracchio, aided by the Colonna party, took possession of Tivoli and styled himself 'the General of the Holy Council'. Francesco Sforza, won over to the side of the Duke of Milan by the promise of the hand of his natural daughter Bianca, invaded the March of Ancona, and scornfully dated his letters 'invito Petro et Paulo,' 'against the will of Peter and Paul'. The Duke of Milan was supported by the Council,[1] which Sigismund in vain tried to interest in the pacification of Italy. The name of the Council lent a colourable pretext to all acts of aggression. Eugenius IV. found himself destitute of allies. Never had the Papacy been in a more helpless condition. No course was possible except submission.

Rising in Rome against Eugenius IV. May 29, 1434.

Accordingly Eugenius IV. made his peace with the Council, and then proceeded to face his enemies at home. He detached Francesco Sforza from the side of the Duke of Milan by appointing him, on March 25, Vicar of the March of Ancona which he had overrun. Sforza willingly exchanged the dubious promises of Filippo Maria Visconti for an assured position. But the Duke of Milan sent to the aid of Fortebracchio the condottiere Niccolo Piccinino; before their superior forces Sforza was driven to retire, and the blockade of Rome was continued. The sufferings of a siege were more than the Romans cared to endure for the sake of an unpopular Pope. It was easy for the foes of Eugenius IV. to raise the people in rebellion.

[1] John of Segovia, 532: 'Plures littere ex Ytalia particulariter destinate affirmabant, quod eciam absque ulla vi, audito quod nomine concilii habere vellet, terre et civitates marchie Anconitane reddebant se comiti Francisco'.

A crowd flocked to S. Maria in Trastevere, whither Eugenius had retired for safety, to lay their grievances before the Pope. They were referred to his nephew, the Cardinal Francesco Correr, who listened to them with haughty indifference. When they complained of the loss of their cattle, he answered that they busied themselves too much about cattle; the Venetians who had none led a much more refined and civilised life.[1] The remark might be true, but it was not consoling. The people resolved to take matters into their own hands, and on the evening of May 29 raised the old cry of 'The people and freedom!' stormed the Capitol, and set up once more their old republic under seven governors. Next day they demanded of the Pope that he should hand over to them the castles of S. Angelo and Ostia, give them his nephew as a hostage, and come himself to take up his abode in the palace of his predecessor by the Church of SS. Apostoli. When Eugenius refused, his nephew was dragged away by force in spite of his entreaties, and he was threatened with imprisonment. Eugenius heard that the palace of SS. Apostoli was being prepared for his custody, and he knew that there he would be the prisoner of the Council and the Duke of Milan.

There was no escape except by flight, which was difficult, as his abode was closely guarded. At last a pirate of Ischia, Vitellio, who had a ship at Ostia, was prevailed upon to help the Pope in his need. His aid was secured just in time, as on the evening of June 4 the Pope was to be removed to the palace of SS. Apostoli. At midday, when every one was taking his siesta, Eugenius and one of his attendants, disguised as Benedictine monks, escaped the vigilance of the sleepy guards, mounted a couple of mules and rode to the Tiber bank, where a small dirty boat was prepared for them. A few bishops professed to be waiting for an audience with the Pope, so as to lull the suspicion of his guards. But the

Flight of Eugenius IV. to Florence. June, 1434.

[1] Platina, *Vita Eugenii IV.*

two mules left riderless on the bank, and the unwonted energy of the rowers, made the spectators give the alarm. The people of Trastevere gave chase along the bank, hurling stones and shooting arrows at the boat. The wind was contrary, the bark was crazy, the crowd of pursuers increased along both banks; Eugenius lay at the bottom of the boat covered by a shield. When the Church of S. Paolo was passed, and the river became broader, the fugitives hoped that their danger was over; but the Romans ran on before, and seized a fishing boat, which, filled with armed men, they laid across the stream. Luckily for Eugenius his boat was commanded by one of the pirate's crew whose courage was equal to the occasion. In vain the Romans hurled their darts, and promised him large sums of money if he would deliver up the Pope. He ordered his boat to charge the enemy. Their boat was old and rotten, and they feared the encounter. The prow turned aside and the Pope's boat shot safely past. Eugenius could now rise from his covering of shields, and sit upright with a sigh of thankfulness. He reached Ostia in safety and went on board the pirate's ship. There he was joined by a few members of the Curia who had succeeded in fleeing. He sailed to Pisa and thence made his way to Florence, where he was honourably received on June 23, and like his predecessor, Martin V., took up his abode in the cloister of S. Maria Novella.[1] There he could reflect that his inconsiderate obstinacy had endangered at Basel his spiritual supremacy, and handed over his temporal possessions to the condottieri of the Duke of Milan.

[1] The flight of Eugenius is graphically described by Flavius Bloddus, *Decades*, iii., 6. See also the account of the Roman ambassadors to the Council in John of Segovia, 717.

CHAPTER V.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL AND THE HUSSITES.

1432-1434.

If the downfall of Eugenius IV. was due to his obstinacy, the prestige of the Council, which enabled it to reap the advantage of his weakness, was due to the hopes which were conceived of a peaceable ending of the Bohemian revolt. It was much easier for a Council than for a Pope to open negotiations with victorious heretics, and the Bohemians on their side were not averse from an honourable peace. Bohemia, with a population of four or five millions, had suffered much during its ten years' struggle against the rest of Europe. Its victories were ruinous to the conquerors; its plundering raids brought no real wealth. The commerce of Bohemia was annihilated; its lands were uncultivated; the nation was at the mercy of the Taborite army, which no longer consisted solely of the God-fearing peasants, but was recruited by adventurers from the neighbouring lands. The policy of Procopius the Great was, by striking terror, to prepare the way for peace, that so Bohemia, with its religious liberty assured, might again enter the confederacy of European States. When the Council of Basel held out hopes of peace he was ready to try what could be won; and Bohemia consented to send representatives to Basel for the purpose of discussion.

Desire of Bohemia for peace.

Accordingly the Council proceeded to prepare for its great undertaking. In November, 1432, it appointed four doctors, John of Ragusa, a Slav; Giles Carlier, a Frenchman;

Heinrich Kalteisen, a German; and John of Palomar, a Spaniard, to undertake the defence of the Church doctrine against the Four Articles of Prag. These doctors zealously studied their case with the aid of all the theologians present at Basel. As the time of the advent of the Bohemians drew near, strict orders were given to the citizens to abstain from everything that might shock the Puritanism of their expected guests.[1] Prostitutes were not to walk the streets; gambling and dancing were forbidden; the members of the Council were enjoined to maintain strict sobriety, and beware of following the example of the Pharisees of old, who taught well and lived ill. At the same time guards were set to see that the Bohemians did not spread their errors in the seat of the Council. On the part of the Bohemians seven nobles and eight priests, headed by Procopius the Great, were chosen by a Diet as their representatives at Basel. They rode with their attendants through Germany, a stately cavalcade of fifty horsemen, with a banner bearing their device of a chalice, under which was the inscription, 'Veritas omnia vincit' (Truth conquers all). In alarm lest their entry into Basel might seem like a demonstration and cause scandal, Cesarini sent to beg them to lay aside their banner. Before his messenger reached them they had taken boat at Schafthausen, and entered Basel, quietly and unexpectedly, on the evening of January 4, 1433. The citizens flocked to gaze on them, wondering at their strange dress, the resolute faces, and fierce eyes of the men who had wrought such terrible deeds of valour.[2] They were conducted to their hotels, where several members of the Council visited them, and Cesarini sent them presents of food. On January 6, the festival of the Epiphany, they celebrated the Communion in their lodgings, and curiosity drew many to attend their services.

Preparations of the Council for a conference with the Bohemians. November, 1432.

Arrival of the Bohemian envoys in Basel. January 4, 1433.

[1] John of Ragusa, *Tractatus de Reductione Bohemorum*, in *Mon. Con.*, i., 258; John of Segovia, ii., 298.

[2] Æn. Sylvius, *Hist. Bohem.*, ch. xlix.

They noticed that the Pragers used vestments and observed the customary ritual, with the sole exception that they communicated under both kinds. Procopius and the Taborites, on the other hand, used no vestments nor altar, and discarded the mass service. After consecration of the elements they said the Lord's Prayer and communicated round a table. A sermon was preached in German, at which many Catholics were present. This scandalised Cesarini, who sent for the Bohemians, and requested them to discontinue preaching in German. They answered that many of their followers were Germans, and the sermons were for their benefit; they had the right of performing their services as they thought fit, and meant to use it; they invited no one to come, but they were not bound to prevent them from doing so. Cesarini sent to the magistrates of the city a request that they would prevent the people from attending their preachings. The magistrates took no measures for this end; but after a few days the crowd grew weary of the novelty, and ceased of its own accord to attend. John of Ragusa makes a sage remark, which the advocates of religious protection would do well to remember: 'Freedom and neglect succeeded where restraint and prohibition would have failed, for human frailty is always eager after what is forbidden'.[1] The Bohemians, on their side, asked to be present at the sermons preached before the Council; permission was given on condition that they entered the cathedral after the reading of the Gospel, and left when the sermon was ended, so as not to be present at any part of the mass service.

Next day, January 7, Procopius invited John of Ragusa and others to dine; they had a general theological discussion, in which the predestinarian views of the Hussites came prominently forward. Most skilful among their controversialists was an Englishman,

Preliminaries of the conference. January, 1433.

[1] 'Unde factum est per neglectam licentiam, quod nullo modo factum fuisset per exactam prohibitionem, quia humana fragilitas semper nititur in vetitum.'—*Mon. Concil.*, i., 259.

Peter Payne, an Oxford Lollard, who had fled to Bohemia, whom John of Ragusa found to be as slippery as a snake.[1]

On January 9 the Council ordained that Wednesdays and Fridays should be strictly kept as fast days, and prayers for union be said during the period of the negotiations with the Bohemians. A solemn procession was made for success in this arduous matter; forty-nine mitred prelates and about eight hundred other members of the Council took part in it. The Bohemians asked when and where they were to have an audience. Cesarini fixed the next day in the ordinary meeting-place of congregations, the Dominican monastery. The Bohemians objected to the place as being too small and out of the way; but Cesarini was firm in refusing to depart from the usage of the Council.

On January 10 the congregation assembled, and seats were assigned to the Bohemians on two rows of benches opposite the Cardinals. Cesarini opened the proceedings with a long and eloquent oration, in which, speaking in the person of the Church, he exhorted all to unity and peace, and addressed the Bohemians as sons whom their mother yearned to welcome back to her bosom. On the part of the Bohemians, John of Rokycana arose and took for his text, 'Where is He that is born King of the Jews? We have seen His star in the east, and are come to worship Him.' He said that the Bohemians were seeking after Christ, and, like their Master, had been evil spoken of; he asked the Council not to be astonished if they said strange things, for truth was often found in strange ways; he praised the primitive Church and denounced the vices of the clergy of the present day. Finally, he thanked the Council for its courtesy, and asked for a day to be fixed for a full hearing. Cesarini answered that the Council was ready at any time;

[1] 'Ipse Anglicus tanquam anguis lubricus quanto strictius teneri videbatur et concludi tanto citius ad impertinentes dilabebatur materias.' —*Ibid.*, 260. Some information about Payne and his aliases is given in Rogers' *Loci e Libro Veritatis* of Gascoign, p. 186, etc.

after a private conference the Bohemians fixed the next Friday, January 16.

The Bohemians brought with them to the Council the same spirit of reckless daring which had characterised them on the field of battle. Only on January 13 did they arrange finally their spokesmen, whereas the theologians of the Council had been for two months preparing their separate points. Each day the Bohemians paid visits to the Cardinals and prelates; they were received as a rule with great friendliness. At first some of the Cardinals tended to be cold, if not discourteous: but Cesarini's anxious efforts to promote conciliatory conduct were in the end successful, and free social intercourse was established between the two parties. In a few days' time a Cardinal discovered at least one bond of union between himself and the Bohemians; he laughingly said to Procopius: 'If the Pope had us in his power he would hang us both'.

Rokycana's defence of the First Article of Prag. January 16-20, 1433.

On January 16 the proceedings began with a ratification of the safe-conduct, and a formal verification of the powers of the Bohemian representatives. Then John of Rokycana began the controversy by a defence of the First Article of Prag, concerning the Communion under both kinds. He argued from the nature of the rite, from the words of the Gospel, the custom of the primitive Church, the decrees of the General Councils and the testimonies of the Fathers, that it was not only permissible but necessary. His speech extended over three days, and was listened to with great attention.[1] When he ended Procopius sprang to his feet—a man of middle height, of stalwart frame, with a swarthy face, large flashing eyes, and a fierce expression of countenance. He passionately exhorted them to open their ears to the Gospel truth; Communion was a heavenly banquet, to which all were invited; let them beware lest they incurred punishment by despising it, for God could vindicate His own. The Fathers heard

[1] It is given in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 262.

with amazement these expressions of a fervent conviction that right could be on the side opposed to the Church.[1] Cesarini, with his wonted tact, interposed to prevent an untimely outbreak of zeal on the part of the Council. He suggested that the Bohemians should first speak, and then submit their arguments in writing, so that they might be fully answered on the side of the Council. This was agreed to, and the assembly dispersed.

Nicolas of Pilgram's defence of the Second Article. January 20-23.

On January 20 Nicolas of Pilgram began the defence of the Second Article of Prag—the suppression of public sins. He spoke for two days, but on the second day did not imitate the moderation of Rokycana. He attacked the vices of the clergy, their simony, their hindrance of the Word of God; he reproached them with the deaths of Hus and Jerome, whose saintly lives he defended. A murmur arose in the Council; some laughed scornfully, others gnashed their teeth; Cesarini, with folded hands, looked up to heaven. The speaker asked if he was to have a fair hearing according to promise. Cesarini ironically answered: 'Yes, but pause sometimes to let us clear our throats'. Nicolas went on with his speech. Afterwards Rokycana blamed him for the bitterness of his invective, and expressed a wish to speak himself on the Third Article. He was overruled by the other ambassadors, and only at the last moment was it definitely settled that Ulrich of Zynaim was to be their spokesman.[2]

Ulrich of Zynaim defends the Third Article. January 23-25.

On January 23 Ulrich began his arguments for the freedom of preaching, and also spoke for two days, urging the supremacy of the Word of God over the word of man, the danger of the substitution of the one for the other, the dignity of the true priest, and his duty to preach God's Word in spite of all endeavours to prevent him.[3] At the end of his first day's speech Roky-

[1] 'Aliaque dixit forme hujus velut Bohemi sustinerent veritatem fidei Catholice et alii contemnerent.'—John of Segovia, 319.

[2] See Peter of Saaz, *Liber Diurnus*, in *Mon. Con.*, i., 294.

[3] The speech is given in Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 305.

cana rose and said that he had heard that the Bohemians were accused of throwing snow at a crucifix on the bridge; they wished to deny it, and if it could be proved that any of their attendants had done so he should be punished. Cesarini answered that many tales were told about their doings, which, however, the Council had resolved to endure as well as their speeches. He wished, however, that they would restrain their servants from going into the neighbouring villages to spread their doctrines. He was answered that the servants only went to get fodder for the horses, and if the curious Germans asked them questions, such as, whether they held the Virgin Mary to be a virgin, no great harm was done if they answered, 'Yes'. They promised, however, to see to the matter.

Peter Payne defends the Fourth Article. January 26-29.

On January 26 Peter Payne began a three days' speech on the temporal possessions of the clergy. He admitted that worldly goods were not to be entirely denied them, but, in the words of S. Paul, having food and raiment, therewith they should be content; all superfluities should be cut off from them, and they should in no case exercise temporal lordship.[1] When he had finished his argument, he said that this doctrine was commonly supposed to originate from Wyclif; he referred the Council, however, to the writings of Richard, Bishop of Armagh, and went on to give an account of Wyclif's teaching at Oxford, his own struggles in defence of Wyclifite opinions, and his flight into Bohemia. When he had ended, Rokycana thanked the Council for their patient and kindly hearing: if anything that they had said could be proved to be erroneous, they were willing to amend it. He asked that those who answered in the Council's behalf should follow their example and reduce the heads of their arguments to writing. One of the Bohemian nobles, speaking in German, thanked William of Bavaria for his presence at the discussion. William assured them of his protection, and promised

[1] The synopsis handed in to the Council is given by John of Ragusa, p. 170.

to procure for them as free and complete a hearing as they wished. Cesarini then proceeded to settle the preliminaries of the Council's reply. First he asked if all the Bohemians were unanimous in their adhesion to the arguments set forth by their speakers: he was answered, 'Yes'. Cesarini then commented on the various points in the Bohemian speeches which gave him hopes of reconciliation. He said that the Council was resolved not to be offended at anything which was said contrary to the orthodox belief: but if any concord was to be obtained they must have everything under discussion. Besides the Four Articles, which had been put forward, he believed there were other points in which the Bohemians differed from the Church. One of their speakers had called Wyclif 'the evangelical doctor'; with a view to discover how far they held with Wyclif he handed to them twenty-eight propositions taken from Wyclif's writings and six other questions, opposite to each of which he asked that they would write whether they held it or no. The Bohemians asked to deliberate before answering. It was the first attempt of the Council to break the ranks of the Bohemians by bringing to light the differences which existed amongst them.

Answer of John of Ragusa. January 31—February 7.

On January 31 the reply on the part of the Council was begun. First came a sermon from a Cistercian abbot, which gave offence to the Bohemians by exhorting them to submit to the Council. Then John of Ragusa began his proof that the reception of the Communion under both kinds was not necessary and, when forbidden by the Church, was unlawful. His speech, which was a tissue of scholastic explanations of texts and types and passages from the Fathers, lasted till February 12. He angered the Bohemians by his tediousness and by the assumptions, which underlaid his speech, that they were heretics. Some stormy interruptions took place in consequence. On February 4 Procopius rose and protested against the tone adopted by the Cistercian abbot and John of Ragusa. 'We are not heretics,' he exclaimed; 'if you

say that we ought to return to the Church, I answer that we have not departed from it, but hope to bring others to it, you amongst the rest.' There was a shout of laughter. 'Is the speaker going to continue rambling over impertinent matter? Does he speak in his own name or in that of the Council? If in his own, let him be stopped: we did not take the trouble to come here to listen to three or four doctors.' The Cistercian abbot and John of Ragusa both excused themselves from any intention of violating the compact under which the Bohemians had come to Basel. Rokycana asked: 'You talk of the Church: what is the Church? We know what Pope Eugenius says about you; your head does not recognise you as the Universal Church. But we care little for that and hope only for peace and concord.' Cesarini exhorted both sides to patience; he reminded the Bohemians that if they had answered the twenty-eight articles proposed to them there would be less doubt about their opinions, and it would be easier to decide what was pertinent and what was not.

On February 10 there was another outburst of feeling. John of Ragusa, in pursuing his argument respecting the authority of the Church, was examining the objections that might be raised to his positions. He introduced them by such phrases as 'a heretic might object'. This enraged the Bohemians; Rokycana rose and exclaimed: 'I abhor heresy, and if any one suspects me of heresy let him prove it'. Procopius, his eyes flashing with rage, cried out: 'We are not heretics, nor has any one proved us to be such; yet that monk has stood and called us so repeatedly. If I had known this in Bohemia I would never have come here.' John of Ragusa excused himself, saying, 'May God show no mercy to me if I had any intention of casting a slur on you'. Peter Payne ironically exclaimed: 'We are not afraid of you; even if you had been speaking for the Council your words would have had no weight'. Again Cesarini cast oil on the waters, beseeching them to take all things in good part. 'There must be altercations,' he truly said, 'before we come to an

agreement; a woman when she is in travail has sorrow.' Next day the Archbishop of Lyons came to ask pardon for John of Ragusa. The Bohemians demanded that the other three speakers should be more brief and should speak in the name of the Council. During the remainder of John's address Procopius and another of the Bohemians refused to attend the conference.

Further disputations. February 8—March 10.

It was agreed by the Council that the other three orators should speak in the Council's name, reserving, however, the right of amending or adding to what they said. Matters now went more peaceably. The speeches of Carlier, Kalteisen, and John of Palomar, which were studiously moderate, extended till February 28. Meanwhile the Bohemians, on being pressed to answer the twenty-eight articles submitted to them, showed signs of their dissensions by standing on the treaty of Eger. They said that they had only been commissioned to discuss the Four Articles of Prag, and they did not think it right to complicate the business by introducing other topics.

The disputation had now come to an end; but Rokycana claimed to be allowed to answer some of the statements of John of Ragusa, who demanded that, in that case, he should also have the right of further reply. It was obvious that this procedure might go on endlessly; and Cesarini suggested that a committee of four on each side should be nominated for private conference. However, on March 2, Rokycana began his reply, which lasted till March 10. When he had ended, John of Ragusa rose and urged that the Bohemians were bound to hear him in reply. The Bohemians announced that they would hear him if they thought fit, but they were not bound to do so. 'We will put you to shame throughout the world,' said John angrily, 'if you go away without hearing our answers.' Rokycana sarcastically said that John of Ragusa scarcely maintained the dignity of a doctor. 'And yet,' he added, 'before we came here, we had never heard that there was such a person in the world. Still, I have proved that his sayings are

erroneous; for is it not erroneous,' and he raised his voice with passionate earnestness, 'to say that either man or council can change the precepts of Christ, who said: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away"?'

It was clear that such war of orators was preventing rather than furthering the union which both parties professed to seek. William of Bavaria interposed his mediation; and the Council deputed fifteen members, chief of whom was Cesarini, to arrange matters in private with the fifteen Bohemian representatives. Their meetings, which began on March 11, were opened with prayer by Cesarini, who exerted all his persuasive eloquence and tack to induce the Bohemians to incorporate themselves with the Council, which would then proceed to settle the differences existing between them. The discussions on this point were at last summed up by Peter Payne: 'You say, "Be incorporated, return, be united:" we answer, "Return with us to the primitive Church; be united with us in the Gospel". We know what power our voice has, so long as we are one party and you another; what power it would have after our incorporation experience has abundantly shown.' The Bohemians began to speak of departing; but a learned German theologian, Nicolas of Cuso, raised the question—if the Council allowed the Bohemians the Communion under both kinds, which they regarded as a matter of faith, would they agree to incorporation? if so, the other questions, which only concerned morals, might be subjected to discussion. At first the Bohemians suspected a snare; but William of Bavaria assured them of his sincerity. After deliberating, the Bohemians refused incorporation, as being beyond the powers given them as representatives; moreover, if they were incorporated and the Council decided against them, they could not accept its decision. An attempt was made to advance further by means of a smaller committee of four on each side; but it only became obvious that nothing more could be done in

Private conferences. March 11—April 13.

Basel, that the Bohemian representatives were not disposed to take any decided step, and that, if the Council intended to proceed with the negotiations, they must send envoys to Bohemia to treat with the Diet and the people.

Meanwhile disputations continued before the Council, in which Rokycana, Peter Payne, and Procopius showed themselves formidable controversialists. They had been formed in a ruder and more outspoken school than that of the theological professors who were pitted against them. John of Ragusa especially met with no mercy. One day he was so pedantic as to say that he did not wish to derogate from the dignity of his university. 'How so?' asked Rokycana. 'According to the statutes,' said John of Ragusa, 'a doctor is not bound to answer a master; nevertheless, as it concerns the faith, I will answer you.' 'Certainly,' was the retort; 'John of Ragusa is not better than Christ; nor John of Rokycana worse than the devil; yet Christ answered the devil.' Another time, when John of Ragusa had been speaking at great length, Rokycana remarked, 'He is one of the preaching friars, and is bound to say a great deal'. Kalteisen, in his reply to Ulrich of Zynaim, reproved him for having said that monks were introduced by the devil. 'I never said so,' interrupted Ulrich. Procopius rose: 'I said one day to the President, "If bishops have succeeded to the place of the Apostles, and priests to the place of the seventy-two disciples, to whom except the devil have the rest succeeded?"' There was loud laughter, amid which Rokycana called out, 'Doctor, you should make Procopius Provincial of your Order'.[1]

Departure of the Bohemians. April 14.

It was at length arranged that on April 14 the Bohemians should return to their own land, whither the Council undertook to send ten ambassadors who should treat with the Diet in Prag. Procopius wrote to inform the Bohemians of this, and urged them to assemble in numbers at the Diet on June 7, for great things might be done. On April 13 the Bohemians took farewell

[1] These particulars are taken from the *Liber Diurnus* of Peter of Saaz, in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 348.

of the Council. Rokycana in the name of all expressed their thanks for the kindness they had received. Then Procopius rose and said that he had often wished to speak, but had never had an opportunity. He spoke earnestly about the great work before the Council, the reformation of the Church, which all men longed for with sighs and groans. He spoke of the worldliness of the clergy, the vices of the people, the intrusion into the Church of the traditions of men, the general neglect of preaching. Cesarini, on the part of the Council, recapitulated all that had been done, and begged them to continue in Bohemia the work that he trusted had been begun in Basel. He thanked Rokycana for his kindly words: turning to Procopius, he called him his personal friend and thanked him for what he had said about the reformation of the Church, which the Council would have been engaged in, if they had not been employed in conference with the Bohemians. Finally he gave them his benediction and shook them each by the hand. Rokycana also raised his hand, and in a loud voice said, 'May the Lord bless and preserve this place in peace and quiet'. Then they took their leave; as they were going, a fat Italian archbishop ran after them and with tears in his eyes shook them by the hand. On April 14 they left Basel, accompanied by the ambassadors of the Council.

General results of the conference.

The conference at Basel was most honourable to all who were concerned in it; it showed a spirit of straightforwardness, charity and mutual forbearance. It was no slight matter in those days for a Council of theologians to endure to listen to the arguments of heretics already condemned by the Church. It was no small thing for the Bohemians, who were already masters in the field, to curb their high spirit to a war of words. Yet, in spite of occasional outbursts, the general result of the conference at Basel was to promote a good feeling between the two parties. Free and friendly intercourse existed between the Bohemians and the leading members of the Council, chiefly owing to the exertions of Cesarini, whose nobility

and generosity of character produced a deep impression on all around him. But in spite of the friendliness with which they were received, and the personal affection which in some cases they inspired, the Bohemians could not help being a little disappointed at the general results of their visit to Basel. They had been somewhat disillusioned. They came with the same moral earnestness and childlike simplicity which had marked Hus at Constance. They hoped that their words would prevail, that their arguments would convince the Council that they were not heretics, but rested on the Gospel of Christ. They were chilled by the attitude of superiority which showed itself in all the Council's proceedings, and which was the more irritating because they could not formulate it in any definitely offensive words or acts. The assumption of an infallible Church, to which all the faithful were bound to be united, was one which the Bohemians could neither deny nor accept. In Bohemia the preachers had been wont to denounce those who departed from the Gospel; in Basel they found themselves the objects of kindly reprobation because they had departed from the Church.[1] It gradually became clear that they were not likely to induce the Council to reform the Church in accordance with their principles: the utmost that would be granted was a Concordat with Bohemia which would allow it to retain some of its peculiar usages and opinions without separation from the Catholic Church. The Bohemian representatives had failed to convince the Council; it remained to be seen if the good feeling which had grown up between the two contending parties would enable the Council to extend, and the Bohemian people to accept, a sufficient measure of toleration to prevent the breach of the outward unity of the Church.

[1] Peter of Saaz gives this picture in the account of a conversation between the disputants at dinner with Cesarini: 'Dixit auditor: Augustinus dicta sua ecclesiæ judicanda commisit; similiter Hieronymus Damaso Papæ: quare vos non? forte æstimatis vos ita sapientes esse, quasi errare non possetis in fide? Et sic omnem divisionem et bellorum causam retorquebant in nostros, nostri autem e converso in eos, quia evangelio contradicerunt.'—*Mon. Concil.*, i., 330.

The ten ambassadors of the Council, chief amongst whom were the Bishops of Coutances and Augsburg, Giles Carlier, John of Palomar, Thomas Ebendorfer of Haselbach, Canon of Vienna, John of Geilhausen, and Alexander, an Englishman, Archdeacon of Salisbury, travelled peaceably to Prag, where they were received with every show of respect and rejoicing on May 8. They spent the time till the assembling of the Diet in interchanging courtesies with the Bohemian leaders. On May 24 a Bohemian preacher, Jacob Ulk, inveighed in a sermon against the Council's envoys, and bade the people beware of Basel as of a basilisk which endeavoured to shed its venom on every side. He attempted to raise a riot, but it was put down by Procopius,[1] and the magistrates issued an edict that no one under pain of death was to offend the Council's ambassadors. On June 13 the Diet assembled, and after preliminary addresses John of Palomar submitted the Council's proposal for the incorporation of the Bohemians and the common settlement of their differences in the Council. He was answered that the Council of Constance was the origin of all the wars and troubles that had beset Bohemia; the Bohemians had always wished for peace, but they were firm in their adhesion to the Four Articles of Prag, and they wished to hear the Council's decision respecting them. John of Palomar at once answered that the Four Articles seemed to be held in different senses by different parties among the Bohemians; before he could give the Council's opinion, he wished them to be defined in writing in the sense in which they were universally believed. It was the first step towards bringing to light the dissensions of the Bohemian parties. A definition drawn up by the University of Prag was repudiated by the Taborites as containing treacherous concessions. Rokycana gave a verbal answer, and a committee of eight deputies of the

The Council's envoys go to Prag. May 8, 1433.

[1] Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, bk. viii., ch. iii., from Haselbach's MS., *Liber Pontificalis*.

Diet was appointed to confer on this point with the ambassadors of the Council. A definition was then drawn up in which the Council's side gained nothing. They saw that by this procedure they would merely drift back to the disputation which they had in Basel.

Negotiations with the Diet at Prag. June—July, 1433.

Accordingly on June 25 the Council's ambassadors took the decided step of negotiating secretly with some of the Calixtin nobles, to whom they said that the Council would most probably allow to the Bohemians the Communion under both kinds, if they would incorporate themselves for the discussion of the other points. This was received with joy by some of the nobles, amongst whom a party in favour of this course was gradually organised. The Diet inquired under what form such privilege would be granted, and a proposed form was presented by the ambassadors. The Diet, in answer, drew up on January 29 a form of their own, which, if the Council accepted, they were willing to unite with it. As the form contained the full acceptance of the Four Articles of Prag, the ambassadors refused to entertain it. On July 1 they again had a meeting in Rokycana's house with some of the Calixtin nobles, who agreed to moderate the form into such a shape that another Bohemian deputation might take it to Basel. In the discussion that ensued in the Diet some sharp things were said. When the Council's ambassadors begged the Bohemians to forget the past and be as they had been twenty years ago, Procopius scornfully exclaimed, 'In the same way you might argue that we ought to be as we were a thousand years ago when we were pagans'. A statement, however, was drawn up that the Bohemians agreed to unite with the Council and obey 'according to God's Word'. Three ambassadors, Mathias Landa, Procopius of Bilsen, and Martin Lupak, were appointed to take this, together with an exposition of the Four Articles, to the Council. They, with the Council's envoys, left Prag on July 11 and reached Basel on August 2, where they were received with joy.

The object of this first embassy of the Council was to survey the ground and report the position of affairs in Bohemia. On July 31 one of the envoys, who was sent on before, announced to the Council that everywhere in Bohemia they had found a great desire for peace, and had been listened to by the Diet with a courtesy and decorum which the Council would do well to imitate. He urged that conciliation be tried to the utmost. The other envoys on their arrival gave a full report of their proceedings to the Council, which appointed a committee of six to be elected from each deputation who, together with the Cardinals, were to confer on future proceedings. Before this committee John of Palomar on August 13 made a secret report of the general aspect of affairs in Bohemia. He said that neither the nobles nor the people were free, but were tyrannised over by a small but vigorous party, which feared to loose its power if any reconciliation with the Church took place; the strength of this party lay in the hatred of the Bohemians to German domination, and their willingness to carry on war to escape it. He sketched the position of the three chief sects, the Calixtins, Orphans, and Taborites; the only point on which they all agreed was the reception of the Communion under both kinds. The first party wished to obtain the use of their rite by peaceable means and desired union with the Church; the second party desired to be in the bosom of the Church, but would take up arms and fight desperately to defend what they believed to be necessary; the third party was entirely opposed to the Church, and was not to be won over by any concessions, for the confiscation of the goods of the clergy was their chief desire.[1]

John of Palomar's report to the Council. August, 1433.

The commission then proceeded to deliberate whether the Communion under both kinds could be conceded to the Bohemians, and what answer the Council should return to the other three articles, of which the Bohemian envoys

[1] John of Segovia, *Mon. Concil.*, ii., 431, and *Declaratio Gestorum in Bohemia*, in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 388.

brought a definition to the Council. The discussions lasted for a fortnight, and on August 26 an extraordinary congregation was held, which was attended by the prelates at Basel and 160 doctors, who were all bound by oath of secrecy. John of Palomar put before them, on behalf of the commission, the pressing need of settling the Bohemian question, and the desirability of making some concession for that purpose. He argued that the Church might lawfully do so, and follow the example of Paul in his dealings with the Corinthians; for he 'caught them by guile'. The Bohemian people was intractable and would not enter the fold of the Church like other Christians; they must treat it gently as one treats a mule or horse to induce it to submit to the halter. When once the Bohemians had returned to union with the Church, their experience of the miseries of a separation from it would lead them to submit to the common rites of Christendom rather than run new risks in the future. Cesarini followed in the same strain; and next day William of Bavaria, on behalf of Sigismund, urged the interest of the Emperor in securing his recognition, by means of the Council, as King of Bohemia. After three days' deliberation it was agreed to concede the reception of the Communion under both kinds, and an answer to the other three articles was framed. But the secret was still kept from the Bohemian envoys, as the Council did not wish their decision to be known too soon in Bohemia, and they were also afraid lest Eugenius IV. might interpose. On September 2 the Bohemians were dismissed with kindly words and the assurance of the despatch of four envoys from the Council to Prag. Four of the previous embassy—the Bishop of Coutances, John of Palomar, Henry Toh, and Martin Verruer—set out on September 11.

Deliberations at Basel about the Bohemian question. August, 1433.

The second embassy from Basel did not meet with such a peaceable entrance into Bohemia as had the first. War had again broken out, a war in which were involved the contending interests of the Council

Renewed war in Bohemia. June, 1433.

and the Hussites. In the very middle of Bohemia there still remained a city which held fast by the cause of Catholicism and Sigismund. In the reaction which ensued after the first successes of the commencement of the Hussite movement, the strong city of Pilsen in the south-west of Bohemia had swung back to Catholicism, and from its numerous outlying fortresses had defied all efforts to reduce it. Year by year their sufferings from Hussite attacks made the inhabitants grow firmer in their resistance; and when the Council's envoys first came as spies into the land the Bohemians keenly felt the disadvantage under which they lay in their negotiations when they could not offer a decided front to their foe. Messengers from Pilsen visited the Basel ambassadors and prayed for help from the Council. As the Bohemians began to see that all that the Council would grant them was a recognition of their exceptional position, they felt the need of absolute internal unity if they were to secure or maintain it. The Diet decreed a vigorous siege of Pilsen; the Council's ambassadors protracted their negotiations to allow the men of Pilsen to gather in their harvest;[1] and later the Fathers of Basel sent a contribution of money to the aid of Pilsen, and used their influence to prevail on Nürnberg to do the same. On July 14 the Bohemian army began the siege of Pilsen, and in the beginning of September the besieging host had grown to 36,000 men. The might of the Hussites was directed to secure religious unity within their land.

Pilsen was strongly defended, and the besiegers began to suffer from hunger. Foraging parties were sent to greater distances, and on September 16 a detachment of 1400 foot and 500 horse was sent by Procopius under the command of John Pardus to harry Bavaria. As Pardus was returning laden with spoil, he was suddenly attacked by the Bavarians; his troops

Mutiny in the Bohemian army. September, 1433.

[1] John of Segovia, p. 32: 'Quia Pilyenses, qui erant obsessi, tempore tractatuum pacis collegerant messes aliquas, qui jam præ inopia subsistere non poterant'.

were almost entirely cut to pieces, and he himself, with a few followers, made his escape with difficulty to the camp at Pilsen. Great was the wrath of the Bohemian warriors at this disgrace to their arms. They rushed upon Pardus as a traitor, and even hurled a stool at Procopius, who tried to protect him; the stool hit Procopius on the head with such violence that the blood streamed down his face. The wrath of the chiefs was turned against him; he was imprisoned, and the man who had thrown the stool was made general in his stead. This excitement lasted only a few days. Procopius was released and restored to his former position, but his proud spirit had been deeply wounded by the sense of his powerlessness in an emergency. He refused the command, and left the camp never to return.

Second embassy of the Council to Prag. October, 1433.

This was the news which greeted the Council's envoys when they reached Eger on September 27. They feared to advance farther in the present excited condition of men's minds. The Bohemians in vain tried to discover what message they brought from the Council. The leaders of the army before Pilsen at length sent two of their number to conduct them safely to Prag, where they said that the Diet could not assemble before S. Martin's Day, November 11. The fears of the envoys were entirely dispelled by the cordial welcome which they received in Prag on their arrival, October 22. A plague was ravaging the city, and the physicians vied with one another in precautions for ensuring the safety of their city's guests. The preacher Ulk still raised his voice against them; they had honey on their lips but venom in their heart, they wished to bring back Sigismund, who would cut off the people's heads for their rebellion.

Diet of Prag. November, 1433.

The proceedings of the Diet, which opened on November 17, resolved themselves into a diplomatic contest between the Council's envoys and the Bohemians. The Council was trying to make the smallest concessions possible, the Bohemians were anxious to get all they could. But the four envoys of Basel had the advan-

tage in contending with an assembly like the Diet. They could gauge the effect produced by each concession; they could see when they had gone far enough to have hopes of success. Moreover, they knew definitely the limits of concession which the Council would grant, while the Bohemians were too much at variance amongst themselves to know definitely what they were prepared to accept. Accordingly, after the preliminary formalities were over, the Council's envoys began to practise economy in their concessions. John of Palomar, after a speech in which he lauded General Councils and recapitulated all that the Fathers at Basel had done to promote unity, proceeded to give the limitations under which the Council was prepared to admit three of the Articles; about the fourth, the Communion under both kinds, he said that the envoys had powers to treat if the declaration which he had made about the other three was satisfactory to the Bohemians. The Diet demanded to have the Council's decision on this also put before them. The envoys pressed to have an answer on the three Articles first. For two days the struggle on this point continued; then the envoys asked, before speaking about the Communion, for an answer to the question whether, if an agreement could be come to on the Four Articles, the Bohemians would consent to union. John of Rokycana answered on behalf of all, 'We would consent'; and all the Diet cried 'Yes, yes'. Only Peter Payne rose and said: 'We understand by a good end one in which we are all agreed'; but those around him admonished him to hold his tongue, and he was not allowed to continue. Then John of Palomar read a declaration setting forth that the Communion under one kind had been introduced into the Church, partly to correct the Nestorian error that in the bread was contained only the body of Christ, and in the wine only His blood, partly to guard against irreverence and mishap in the reception of the elements; nevertheless, as the Bohemian use was to administer under both kinds, the Council was willing that they should continue to do so

till the matter had been fully discussed. If they still continued in their belief, permission would be given to their priests so to administer it to those who, having reached years of discretion, asked for it. The Bohemians were dissatisfied with this. They complained that the Council said nothing which could satisfy the honour of Bohemia. They demanded that their words, that the reception under both kinds was 'useful and wholesome,' should be adopted, and that the permission be extended to children.

The Council's basis of agreement.

On November 26 an amended form was submitted to the Diet, which became the basis of an agreement. Bohemia and Moravia were to make peace with all men. The Council would accept this declaration and release them from all ecclesiastical censures. As regarded the Four Articles :—

(1) If in all other points the Bohemians and Moravians received the faith and ritual of the Universal Church, those who had the use of communicating under both kinds should continue to do so, 'with the authority of Jesus Christ and the Church His true spouse'. The question as a whole should be further discussed in the Council; but the priests of Bohemia and Moravia should have permission to administer under both kinds to those who, being of the age of discretion, reverently demanded it, at the same time telling them that under each kind was the whole body of Christ.

(2) As regarded the correction and punishment of open sins, the Council agreed that, as far as could reasonably be done, they should be repressed according to the law of God and the institutes of the Fathers. The phrase used by the Bohemians, 'by those whose duty it was,' was too vague; the duty did not devolve on private persons, but on those who had jurisdiction in such matters.

(3) About freedom of preaching, the word of God ought to be freely preached by priests who were commissioned by their superiors: 'freely' did not mean indiscriminately, for order was necessary.

(4) As regarded the temporalities of the clergy, individual

priests, who were not bound by a vow of poverty, might inherit or receive gifts; and similarly the Church might possess temporalities and exercise over them civil lordship. But the clergy ought to administer faithfully the goods of the Church according to the institutes of the Fathers; and the goods of the Church cannot be occupied by others.

As abuses may have gathered round these last three points, the Diet could send deputies to the Council, which intended to proceed with the question of reform, and the envoys promised to aid them in all possible ways.

The basis of an agreement was now prepared, and a large party in Prag was willing to accept it. Procopius, however, rose in the Diet and read proposals of his own, which John of Palomar dismissed, observing that their object was concord, and it was better to clear away difficulties than to raise them. On November 28 the legates judged it prudent to lay before the Diet an explanation of some points in the previous document. The rites of the Church, which the Bohemians were to accept, they explained to mean those rites which were commonly observed throughout Christendom. If all the Bohemians did not at once follow them, that would not be a hindrance to the peace; those who dissented on any points should have a full and fair hearing in the Council. The law of God and the practice of Christ and the Apostles would be recognised by the Council, according to the treaty of Eger, as the judge in all such matters. Finally, on November 30, after a long discussion and many verbal explanations given by the envoys, the moderate party among the Bohemians succeeded in extorting from the Diet a reluctant acceptance of the proposed agreement.

Acceptance of the Council's basis by the Diet, November 30, 1433.

The success of the Council was due chiefly to the fact that the negotiations, once begun, awakened hopes among the moderate party in Bohemia and so widened the differences between them and the extreme party. There were both plague and famine in the land. More than 100,000 are said to have died in Bohemia

Causes of the Council's success.

during the year, and men had good grounds for feeling sadly the desolate condition of their country and counting the cost of their prolonged resistance. Moreover, the appearance of the Council's envoys had emboldened those who wished for a restoration of the old state of things to lift up their heads. There were still some adherents of Sigismund, chief of whom was Meinhard of Neuhaus; there were still formidable adherents of Catholicism, as the continued ill-success of the siege of Pilsen showed. As soon as doubt and wavering was apparent among the Hussites the party of the restoration declared itself more openly. Further, the events of the siege of Pilsen brought to light the disorganisation that had spread among the army. The old religious zeal had waxed dim; adventurers abounded in the ranks of the Lord's soldiers; the sternness of Zizka's discipline had been relaxed, and the mutiny against Procopius bowed the spirit of the great leader and made him doubtful of the future. The Bohemian nobles were weary of the ascendency of the Taborites, whose democratic ideas they had always borne with difficulty. The country was weary of military rule; and the party which was aiming at Sigismund's restoration determined to use the conciliatory spirit of the Diet for their own purposes. On December 1 a Bohemian noble, Ales of Riesenberg, was elected governor of the land, with a council of twelve to assist him; he took oath to promote the welfare of the people and defend the Four Articles. The moderate party, which had sought to find a constitutional king in Korybut in 1427, now succeeded in setting up a president over the Bohemian republic.[1] The peace negotiations with the Council had already led to a political reaction.

Departure of the Council's envoys. January 14, 1434.

The Compact had been agreed to, but the difficulties in the way of its full acceptance were by no means removed. The envoys demanded that, as Bohemia had agreed to a general peace, the siege of Pilsen should cease. The Bohemians demanded that the

[1] Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, bk. viii., ch. iii.

men of Pilsen should first unite with the Bohemian government, and that all Bohemians should be required by the Council to accept the Communion under both kinds. Other questions also arose. The Bohemians complained that, in treating of the temporalities of the clergy, the Council used language which seemed to accuse them of sacrilege. They demanded also that the Communion under both kinds should be declared 'useful and wholesome' for the whole of Christendom, and that their custom of administering the Communion to infants should be recognised. The discussion on these points only led to further disagreement. The envoys had convinced themselves that a large party in Bohemia was prepared to accept peace on the terms which they had already offered. As nothing more was to be done, they asked to be told definitely whether the Compact was accepted or not; otherwise they wished to depart on January 15, 1434. The Diet answered that it would be more convenient if they went on January 14; a Bohemian envoy would be sent to Basel to announce their intentions. Accordingly the Council's ambassadors left Prag on January 15, and arrived at Basel on February 15.

Further negotiations at Basel. February, 1434.

The result of this second embassy had been to rally the moderate party in Bohemia, and break the bond that had hitherto held the Bohemians together. The envoys had laid the foundations of a league in favour of the Church. Ten of the masters of the University of Prag subscribed a statement that they were willing to stand by the Compacts and had been reconciled to the Church; even when the envoys were at Eger two nobles followed them seeking reconciliation.[1] When the ambassador of the Diet, Martin Lupak, joined them at Eger, it is not wonderful that they warned him that it was useless for him to journey to Basel if he went with fresh

[1] 'Plures eorum conversi fuerant ad fidem eciam postquam exierint regnum: etenim se in Egra constitutis nobiles duo, qui multa dampna intulerunt in exercitu, advenerant humiliter reconciliationem petentes.' —From relation of ambassadors, in John of Segovia, p. 595.

demands. The Council, after hearing the report of their envoys, gave Martin audience at once on February 16. He asked that the Council should order all the inhabitants of Bohemia to receive the Communion under both kinds; if all did not conform, there would be different churches and different rites, and no real peace in the land, for each party would claim to be better than the other, the terms 'catholic' and 'heretic' would again be bandied about, and there would be perpetual dissension. This was no doubt true; but the Council listened to Martin with murmurs of dissent. It was clearly impossible for them to abandon the Bohemian Catholics, and to turn the concession which they had granted to the Hussites into an order to those who had remained faithful to the Church. Still Sigismund besought them to take time over their answer and to avoid any threats. The answer was drawn up in concert with Sigismund, and on February 26 Cesarini addressed Martin Lupak, saying that the Council wondered the Bohemians did not keep their promises, as even Jews and heathens respected good faith. He besought him to urge his countrymen to fulfil the Compacts; then the Council would consider their new demands, and would do all they could consistently with the glory of God and the dignity of the Church. Martin defended his demands, and there was some altercation. At last he taunted Cesarini with the remark that the Church had not always wished for peace, but had preached a crusade against Bohemia. 'Peace is now in your hands, if you will stand by the agreement,' said Cesarini. 'Rather it is in the hands of the Council, if they will grant what is asked,' retorted Martin. He refused to receive a letter from the Council unless he were informed of its contents, and after briefly thanking the Fathers for hearing him, he left the congregation and departed.

A breach seemed again imminent; but the Council knew that it would not be with Bohemia, but only with a party in it, which they trusted to overcome by the help of their

fellow-countrymen. The first envoys had reported that there was a number of irreconcilables who must be subdued by force; the second negotiations had brought to light internal dissensions and had founded a strong party in Bohemia in favour of union with the Council. Everything was done to strengthen that party and gain the means of putting down the radicals. On February 8 the Council ordered a tax of 5 per cent. on ecclesiastical revenues to be levied throughout Christendom for their needs in the matter of Bohemia. John of Palomar was sent to carry supplies from the Council and from Sigismund to aid the besieged in Pilsen, where the besieging army was suffering from plague, hunger and despondency. In Bohemia Meinhard of Neuhaus was indefatigable in carrying on the work of the restoration. In April a league was formed by the barons of Bohemia and Moravia and the Old Town of Prag for the purpose of securing peace and order in the land; all armed bands were ordered to disperse and an amnesty was promised if they obeyed.

Progress of affairs in Bohemia.

Procopius was roused from his retirement in the New Town of Prag by these machinations, and once more put himself at the head of the Taborites and the Orphans. But the barons had already gathered their forces. The New Town of Prag was summoned to enter the league, and on its refusal was stormed; on May 6 Procopius and a few others succeeded with difficulty in escaping. At this news the army before Pilsen raised the siege and retired. Bohemia merged its minor religious differences, and prepared to settle by the sword a political question that was bound to press some day for solution. On one side were the nobles ready to fight for their ancient privileges; on the other side stood the towns as champions of democracy. On May 30 was fought the decisive battle at Lipan. The nobles, under the command of Borek of Militinek, a companion-in-arms of Zizka, had an army of 25,000 men; against them stood Procopius with 18,000. Both armies were entrenched

Death of Procopius in the battle of Lipan. May 30, 1434.

behind their waggons, and for some time fired at one another. The Taborites had the better artillery, but their adversaries turned their superiority to their ruin. One wing feigned to be greatly distressed by their fire; then, as if goaded to exasperation, rushed from behind its entrenchment, and charged. When they thought that the foe had exhausted their fire, they feigned to flee, and the Taborites, thinking their ranks were broken, rushed from their waggons in pursuit. But the seeming broken ranks skilfully re-formed and faced their pursuers, who had meanwhile been cut off from their waggons by the other wing of the nobles' army. Shut in on every side, Procopius and his men prepared to die like heroes. All day and night the battle raged, till in the morning 13,000 of the warriors who had been so long the terror of Europe lay dead on the ground. Procopius and all the chief men of the extreme party were among the slain. The military power of Bohemia, which had so long defied the invader, fell because it was divided against itself.

The fight of Lipan was a decided victory for the Council. It is true that among the conquerors the large majority was Hussite, and would require some management before it could be safely penned within the fold of the Church. But the Taborites had lost the control of affairs. The irreconcilables were swept away, and the Council would henceforth have to deal with men of more moderate opinions.

CHAPTER VI.

EUGENIUS IV. AND THE COUNCIL OF BASEL—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GREEKS AND THE BOHEMIANS.

1434—1436.

At the beginning of the year 1434 the Council of Basel had reached its highest point of importance in the affairs of Christendom and of the Church. It had compelled the Pope to accept, without reserve, the conciliar principle for which it strove; it had gone so far in pacifying Bohemia that its final triumph seemed secure. It looked to further employment for its energies in negotiating a union between the Greek and the Latin Churches. Yet the Council's success had been largely due to accidental circumstances. Eugenius IV. had been subdued, not by the Council's strength, but by his own weakness; he fell because he had so acted as to raise up a number of determined enemies, without gaining any friends in return. The Council's policy towards him was tolerated rather than approved by the European Powers; if no one helped Eugenius IV., it was because no one had anything to gain by so doing. Sigismund, whose interest was greatest in the matter, was kept on the Council's side by his personal interest in the Bohemian question; but he, with the German electors and the King of France, was resolute in resisting any steps which might lead to a schism of the Church. If the Council were to keep what it had won, it must gain new hold upon the sympathies of Christendom, which were not touched by the struggle against the Pope.

Position of the Council in 1434.

Sigismund gave the Fathers at Basel the advice of a statesman when he exhorted them to leave their quarrel with the Pope and busy themselves with the reform of the Church.

Desire to reform the Papacy.

But to contend for abstract principles is always easy, to reform abuses is difficult. The Council found it more interesting to war with the Pope than to labour through the obstacles which lay in the way of a reformation of abuses by those who benefited by them. Each rank of the hierarchy was willing to reform its neighbours, but had a great deal to urge in its own defence. In this collision of interests there was a general agreement that it was good to begin with a reform in the Papacy, as the Pope was not at Basel to speak for himself.[1] Moreover, the Council had grown inveterate in its hostility to the Pope. The personal enemies of Eugenius IV. flocked to Basel, and were not to be satisfied with anything short of his entire humiliation. In this they were aided by the pride of authority which among less responsible members of the assembly grew in strength every day, and made them desirous to assert in every way the superiority of the Council over the Pope.

Admission of the Papal presidents, April, 1434.

The first question that arose was concerning the presidency. Eugenius IV., after his recognition by the Council, issued a Bull nominating four Papal deputies to share that office with Cesarini. The first decision of the Council was that they could not admit this claim of the Pope, since it was derogatory to the dignity of the Council, but they were willing themselves to appoint two of the Cardinals. Again Sigismund had to in-

[1] See the interesting chapter of John of Segovia, p. 358: 'Experimento quidem palparunt concilio tunc et postea interessentes circa reformationem ecclesie quam sit velut infinita distancia inter dicere et facere, fiat reformacio et facta est. Suave profecto est de aliorum reformacione statuum cogitare, liberum avisare, speciosum predicare, sanctimonieque reputatur, quod facta non sit redargucio. Sed cum venitur ad opus reformacionis, in quovis statu sentitur, quod de justicia dicitur proverbio communi, illam desiderari ut quocunque alio, nec tamen in propria fiat domo.'

terpose, and with some difficulty prevailed on the Council to receive the Papal presidents. They were not, however, admitted till they had bound themselves by an oath to labour for the Council, to maintain the decrees of Constance, to declare that even the Pope, if he refused to obey the Council, might be punished, and to observe strict secrecy about all its proceedings. On these terms the Papal presidents, Cardinal Albergata, the Archbishop of Tarento, the Bishop of Padua, and the Abbot of S. Justin of Padua, were admitted to their office on April 26, 1434, at a solemn session at which Sigismund in his Imperial robes was present.

The pretensions of the Council went on increasing. On May 2 Cardinal Lusignan, who was sent on an embassy to pacify France, received from the Council the title of *legatus a latere*, in spite of the protest of the five presidents against conferring a dignity which only the Pope could grant. Sigismund also felt aggrieved by the small heed which the Council paid to his monitions. Few German prelates were present; the large majority were French, Italians, and Spaniards. The democratic constitution of the Council prevented Sigismund from receiving the deference which was his due; he was not even consulted about the appointment of ambassadors. He felt that a slight had been offered to himself by the dealings of the Council with his enemy, the Duke of Milan. He complained bitterly of the irregular conduct of the Council in granting a commission to the Duke of Milan as its vicar, and so abetting him in his designs on the States of the Church. The Council at first denied, then defended, and finally refused to withdraw from, its connexion with the Duke of Milan. Sigismund saw with indignation that the Council adopted a policy of his own, and refused to identify its interests with his. He sadly contrasted the purely ecclesiastical organisation at Basel with the strong national spirit that had prevailed at Constance. He determined to leave a place where he had so little weight that, as

Grievances of Sigismund against the Council.

he himself said, he was like a fifth wheel to a carriage, which did no good, but only impeded its progress.[1]

Proposal of the Bishop of Lübeck to allow the marriage of the clergy.

Before departing he seems to have resolved to give a stimulus to the Council. He sent the Bishop of Lübeck to the several deputations to lay before them a suggestion that the marriage of the clergy should be permitted. 'It was in vain,' he pleaded, 'that priests were deprived of wives; scarcely among a thousand could one continent priest be found. By clerical celibacy the bond of friendship between the clergy and laity was broken, and the freedom of confession was rendered suspicious. There was no fear that a married clergy would appropriate the goods of the Church for their wives and families; the permission to marry would rather bring those of the highest ranks into the clergy, and the nobles would be less desirous of secularising ecclesiastical property if it was in the hands of their relations and friends.' The fathers listened; but 'the old,' says Æneas Sylvius, 'condemned what had no charms for them. The monks, bound by a vow of chastity, grudged that secular priests should have a privilege denied to themselves.' The majority ruled that the time was not yet ripe for such a change; they feared that it would be too great a shock to popular prejudice.[2]

Departure of Sigismund. May 19, 1434.

Before his departure Sigismund addressed the Council, and urged that it would be better to follow the example set at Constance, and organise themselves by nations. He wisely remarked that the reformation of the Church would be better carried out if each nation dealt with its own customs and rites.[3] More-

[1] John of Segovia, 663: 'Dicebat quod intendebat recedere, quia sibi videretur quod erat in concilio sicut quinta rota in curru, que de nichilo juvat sed impedit currum'.

[2] This account is given by Æneas Sylvius, in Fea.; *Pius II. a Calumniis Vindicatus*, p. 58. The matter is not mentioned by John of Segovia, who perhaps thought it beneath the dignity of his serious history.

[3] 'Præterea cum reformacio esset ex diversis consuetudinibus, existentibus variis juxta nacionum varietatem, id melius deliberari posset ab illis de nacione.'—John of Segovia, 662.

over, decisions arrived at by a national organisation would have greater chance of being accepted by the States so represented. He was answered that the deputations would take his suggestion under consideration. Finally, on May 19, he departed in no amiable mood from Basel, saying that he left behind him a sink of iniquity.

First negotiations of the Council with the Greeks. 1433-34.

After Sigismund's departure Cesarini besought the Council to turn its attention to the question of reformation; he said that already they were evil spoken of throughout Christendom for their delay. The basis of the questions raised at Constance was adopted, and the extirpation of simony first attracted the attention of the fathers. But there was great difficulty in keeping to the point, and little progress was made. Insignificant quarrels between prelates were referred to the Council as a court of appeal, and the Council took greater interest in such personal matters than in abstract questions of reform. The question of union between the Eastern and Western Churches was hailed with delight as a relief. This question, which had been mooted at Constance, slumbered under Martin V., but had been renewed by Eugenius IV. The Council, in its struggle with the Pope, thought it well to deprive him of the opportunity of increasing his importance, and at the same time to add to its own. In January, 1433, it sent ambassadors to Greece to inaugurate steps for the proposed union. In consequence of these negotiations the Greek ambassadors arrived at Basel on July 12, 1434. They were graciously received by the Council; and Cesarini expressed the general wish for a conference on their differences, which he said that discussion would probably show to be verbal rather than real. The Greeks demanded that they should have their expenses paid in coming to the conference, and named as the place Ancona, or some port on the Calabrian coast, then Bologna, Milan, or some other town in Italy, next Pesth or Vienna, and finally some place in Savoy. The Council was anxious that the Greeks should come to Basel; but when the Greeks declared that they had

no power to assent to this, their other conditions were accepted. Ambassadors were to go to Constantinople to urge the choice of Basel as a place for the conference. The Greeks also demanded that Eugenius IV. should give his assent to the Council's proposals, and envoys were accordingly sent to lay them before him.

Negotiations of Eugenius IV. with the Greeks. 1433-34.

But Eugenius IV., on his side, had made proposals to the Greeks for the same purpose; and the Greeks, with their usual shiftiness, were carrying on a double negotiation, in hopes of making a better bargain for themselves by playing off against one another the rival competitors for their goodwill. Eugenius IV. sent to Constantinople in July, 1433, his secretary, Cristoforo Garatoni, who proposed that a Council should be held at Constantinople, to which the Pope should send a legate and a number of prelates and doctors. When the Council's proposals were laid before him, Eugenius wrote on November 15, 1434, and gently warned it of the dangers that might arise from too great precipitancy in this important matter. He mildly complained that he had not been consulted earlier. He added, however, that he was willing to assent to the simplest and speediest plan for accomplishing the object in view. The question of the place of conference with the Greeks was sure to open up the dispute between the Pope and Council. The chief reason which Eugenius IV. had given for dissolving the Council was his belief that the Greeks would never go so far as Basel. He was now content to wait and see how far the Council would succeed. He already began to see in their probable failure a means of reasserting his authority, and either transferring the Council to Italy, as he had wished at first, or setting up against it another Council, which from its object would have in the eyes of Europe an equal, if not a greater, prestige.

On the departure of the Greek ambassadors the Council again turned to its wearisome task of reformation, and on January 22, 1435, succeeded in issuing four decrees, limiting

the penalties of interdict and excommunication to the persons or places which had incurred them by their own fault, forbidding frivolous appeals to the Church, and enforcing stricter measures to prevent the concubinage of the clergy. Offenders whose guilt was notorious were to be mulcted of the revenues for three months, and admonished under pain of deprivation to put away their concubines; fines paid to bishops for connivance at this irregularity were forbidden. The Council felt that it was at least safe in denouncing an open breach of ecclesiastical discipline, one which in those days was constantly condemned and constantly permitted.

Reforming decrees of January 22, 1435.

From this peaceful work of reform the Council was soon drawn away by a letter from Eugenius IV., announcing the hopes he entertained of effecting a union with the Greeks by means of a Council at Constantinople. The letter was brought by Garatoni, who, on April 5, gave the Council an account of his embassy to the Greeks, and urged in favour of the Pope's plan, that it involved little expense, and was preferable to the Greeks, who did not wish to impose on their Emperor and the aged Patriarch a journey across the sea. The Council, however, by no means took this view of the matter; it was resolved not to lose the glory of a reunion of the two Churches. On May 3 an angry letter was written to the Pope, saying that a synod at Constantinople could have no claims to be a General Council, and would only raise fresh discord; such a proposal could not be entertained. Eugenius IV. gave way in outward appearance, and sent Garatoni again to Constantinople to express his readiness to accept the proposals of the Council. He was contented to bide his time. But the Council was in a feverish haste to arrange preliminaries, and in June sent envoys, amongst whom was John of Ragusa, to Constantinople for this purpose. It also began to consider means for raising money, and the sale of indulgences was suggested. This suggestion raised a storm of dissatisfaction amongst

Anger with the Pope for his negotiations with the Greeks. April, 1435.

the adherents of the Pope, and seemed to all moderate men to be a serious encroachment on the Papal prerogative.

Decree abolishing annates. June, 1435.

It was not long, however, before a still more deadly blow was aimed at the Pope's authority. The reforming spirit of the Basel fathers was stirred to deal vigorously with Papal exactions. The subject of annates, which had been raised in vain at Constance, was peremptorily decided at Basel. On June 9 a decree was passed abolishing annates, and all dues on presentations, on receiving the pallium, and on all such occasions. It was declared to be simoniacal to demand or to pay them, and a Pope who attempted to exact them was to be judged by a General Council. Two of the Papal presidents, the Archbishop of Tarento and the Bishop of Padua, protested against this decree, and their protest was warmly backed by the English and by many other members of the Council. There were only present at its publication four Cardinals and forty-eight prelates. Cesarini only assented to it on condition that the Council should undertake no other business till it had made, by other means, a suitable provision for the Pope and Cardinals. The abolition of annates was, indeed, a startling measure of reform. It deprived the Pope at once of all means of maintaining his Curia, and to Eugenius IV., a refugee in Florence, left no source of supplies. No doubt the question of annates was one that needed reform; but the reform ought to have been well considered and moderately introduced. As it was, the Council showed itself to be moved chiefly by a desire to deprive the Pope of means to continue his negotiations with the Greeks.

Envoys of Eugenius IV. at Basel. August—November, 1435.

The decree abolishing annates was a renewed declaration of war against the Pope. It marked the rise into power of the extreme party in the Council—the party whose object was the entire reduction of the Papacy under a conciliar oligarchy. At the time, Eugenius was too helpless to accept the challenge. Two of his legates at Basel protested against the annates decree, and absented themselves from the business of the Council. The

Council answered by instituting proceedings against them for contumacy. But the matter was stayed for the time by the arrival, on August 20, of two Papal envoys who had been sent expressly to deal with the Council on this vexed question—Antonio de San Vitio, one of the auditors of the Curia, and the learned Florentine, Ambrogio Traversari, Abbot of Camaldoli. The feeling of the Italian Churchmen was turning strongly in favour of Eugenius IV.; they saw in the proceedings of the Council a menace to the glory of the Papacy, which Italy was proud to call its own. Reformation, as carried out by the Council, seemed to them to be merely an attempt to overthrow the Pope, and carry off beyond the Alps the management of ecclesiastical affairs which had so long centred in Italy.[1] Traversari, who had been zealous for a reform, and had sent to Eugenius on his election a copy of S. Bernard's 'De Consideratione,' now placed himself on the Pope's side, and went to Basel to defeat the machinations of what he considered a lawless mob.[2]

The answers which Traversari brought from the Pope were ambiguous: he was willing that the union with the Greek Church should be conducted in the best way; when the preliminaries had advanced further he would be willing to consider whether the expenses had better be met by indulgences or in some other way; as to the abolition of annates, he thought that the Council had acted precipitately, and wished to know how they proposed to provide for the Pope and Cardinals. There was, in this, no basis for negotiation; and Traversari in vain endeavoured to get farther instructions from Eugenius IV. He stayed three months in Basel, and was convinced that Cesarini's in-

[1] See Flavius Blondus, *Decades*, III., ch. viii., p. 527: 'Diximus aliquando Basilense concilium, per Italici nominis invidiam, infestissimis animis nihil accuratius quæsivisse, ac pro viribusintentasse, quam eo pontifice per nefas omne deposito, pontificatum vel multas in partes lacerum trans Alpes traducere'.

[2] See his letters from Basel. *Ambrogii Traversari Epistolæ*, ed. Mehus, p. 27, etc.

fluence was waning, and that it was a matter of vital importance to the Pope to win him over to his side; he urged Eugenius IV. to leave no means untried for this end. Traversari was shrewd enough in surveying the situation for the future, but for the present could obtain nothing save an empty promise that the question of a provision for the Pope should be taken into immediate consideration.

Steps of the Council to establish its independence of the Pope. January, 1436.

Pending this consideration, the Council showed its determination to carry its decrees into effect. When the customary dues for the reception of the pallium were demanded by the Papal Curia from the newly elected Archbishop of Rouen, the Council interposed, and itself bestowed the pallium on December 11. In January, 1436, it resolved to admonish the Pope to withdraw all that he had done or said against the authority of the Council, and accept fully its decrees. An embassy was nominated to carry to Eugenius IV. a form of decree which he was to issue for this purpose. The reason for this peremptory proceeding was a desire to cut away from the Pope the means of frustrating the Council's projects as regards the Greeks. Its envoys at Constantinople could not report very brilliant success in their negotiations. They could not at first even establish the basis which had been laid down at Basel in the previous year. The Greeks took exception to the wording of the decree which was submitted to them; they complained that the Council spoke of itself as the mother of all Christendom, and coupled them with the Bohemians as schismatics.[1] When the ambassadors attempted to defend the Council's wording they were met by cries, 'Either amend your decree or get you gone'.[2] They undertook that it should be changed, and one of them, Henry Menger, was sent back to Basel, where, on February

[1] 'Quamobrem hujus sanctæ synodi ab initio suæ congregationis præcipua cura fuit recens illud Bohemorum antiquumque Græcorum dissidum prorsus extinguere, et eos nobiscum in eodem fidei et caritatis vinculo copulare' was the preamble of the decree of September 7, 1434. John of Segovia, 752.

[2] Letter of John of Ragusa, in Cecconi, No. LXXVII.

3, 1436, he reported that all other matters had been arranged with the Greeks, on condition that the decree were altered, and that a guarantee were given for the payment of their expenses to and from the conference, whether they agreed to union or no. He brought letters from the Emperor and the Patriarch, urging that the place of conference should be on the sea-coast, and that the Pope, as the head of Western Christendom, should be present. The envoys attributed these demands to the machinations of the Papal ambassador Garatoni.[1]

More and more irritated by this news, the Council proceeded with its plan of crushing the Pope, and on March 22 issued a decree for the full reformation of the head of the Church. It began with a reorganisation of the method of Papal election; the Cardinals on entering the Conclave were to swear that they would not recognise him whom they elected till he had sworn to summon General Councils and observe the decrees of Basel. The form of the Papal oath was specified, and it was enacted that on each anniversary of the Papal election the oath, and an exhortation to observe it, should be read to the Pope in the midst of the mass service. The number of Cardinals was not to exceed twenty-six, of whom twenty-four were to be at least thirty years old, graduates in civil or canon law, or in theology, none of them related to the Pope or any living Cardinal; the other two might be elected for some great need or usefulness to the Church, although they were not graduates. It was further enacted that all elections were to be freely made by the chapters, and that all reservations were to be abolished.

Decree for the reform of the Pope and Cardinals. March 22, 1436.

At the end of the month appeared the Pope's ambassadors, the Cardinals of S. Peter's and S. Crose. They brought,

[1] John of Segovia, 841. 'Referebat insuper de Cristoforo Garatono Constantinopoli fecisse et dixisse quæ pro honore papæ Henricus ipse volebat præterire.' More explicitly John of Ragusa, in his relation to the Council, says (Cecconi, No. CLXXVIII.), 'Ad nihil aliud venerat nisi ut impediret directe vel indirecte hic concordata et conclusa'.

as before, evasive answers from the Pope, who urged the Council to choose a place for conference with the Greeks which would be convenient both for them and for himself; he did not approve of the plan of raising money by granting indulgences, but was willing to issue them with the approval of the Council. This was not what the Council wanted. It demanded that Eugenius IV. should recognise its right to grant indulgences. On April 14 it issued a decree granting to all who contributed to the expenses of the conference with the Greeks the plenary indulgence given to crusaders and to those who made a pilgrimage to Rome in the year of Jubilee. On May 11 an answer was given to the Pope's legates, complaining that Eugenius IV. did not act up to the Council's decrees, but raised continual difficulties; he did not join with them in their endeavours to promote union with the Greeks, but spoke of transferring the Council elsewhere; he did not accept the decree abolishing annates, except on the condition that provision was made for the Pope, although he ought to welcome gladly all efforts at reformation, and ought to consider that the question of provision in the future required great discussion in each nation; he did not recognise, as he ought to do, the supremacy of the Council, which, with the presidents who represented the Pope, had full power to grant indulgences. On receiving this answer, the Archbishop of Tarento and the Bishop of Padua resigned their office of presidents on behalf of the Pope and left the Council. It was a declaration of open war.

The Council issues a decree of indulgences. April 14, 1436.

Eugenius IV. on his side prepared for the contest. He drew up a long defence of his own conduct, and a statement of the wrongs which he had received from the Council since his recognition of its authority. He set forth the Council's refusal to accept the Papal presidents as the representatives of the Pope, its decrees diminishing the Papal revenues and the Papal power, interfering with the old customs of election, granting indulgences, exercising Papal prerogatives, and doing everything most

Apology of Eugenius IV.

likely to lead to an open schism. He commented on the turbulent procedure of the Council, its democratic organisation, its mode of voting by deputations which gave the preponderance to a numerical minority, its avowed partisanship which gave its proceedings the appearance of a conspiracy rather than of a deliberate judgment. For six years it had laboured with scanty results, and had only destroyed the prestige and respect which a General Council ought to command. He recapitulated his own proposals to the Council about the place of a conference with the Greeks, and the repulse which his ambassadors had met with. He stated his resolve to call upon all the princes of Christendom to withdraw their support from the Council, which, he significantly added, not only spoke evil of the Pope, but of all princes, when once it had free course to its insolence. He promised reformation of abuses in the Curia, with the help of a Council to be summoned in some city of Italy, where the condition of his health would allow his personal presence. He called upon the princes to withdraw their ambassadors and prelates from Basel.[1]

State of parties in the Council.

This document of Eugenius IV. contained nothing which was likely to induce the princes of Europe to put more confidence in him, alleged no arguments which could lead them to alter their previous position so far as the Papacy was concerned. But there was much in his accusations against the Council, where the extreme party had been gradually gaining power. Cesarini was no longer listened to, and his position in Basel became daily more unsatisfactory to himself. He had earnestly striven for a settlement of the Bohemian difficulty, and for the pacification of France, which had been begun at the Congress of Arras. He was desirous for reformation of the Church and so had agreed to the decree abolishing annates. But he could not forget that he was a Cardinal and a Papal legate, and was opposed to the recent proceedings of the Council

[1] Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1436, 2, etc.

against the Pope.[1] Round him gathered the great body of Italian prelates, except the Milanese and the chief theologians. But the majority of the Council consisted of Frenchmen, who were led by Cardinal Louis d'Allemand, generally known as the Cardinal of Arles, a man of great learning and high character, but a violent partisan, who belonged to the Colonna faction, and intrigued with the Duke of Milan. He had no hesitation in taking up an attitude of strong political hostility against Eugenius IV. The French followed him, as did the Spaniards, so long as Alfonso of Aragon was the political enemy of Eugenius IV. The Milanese and South Italians were also on his side. The English and Germans who came to the Council were animated by a desire to extend its influence, and so were opposed to the Pope.

Results of the democratic organisation of the Council.

The organisation of the Council gave the Pope a just ground for complaint. It had been decided at the beginning that the lower ranks of the clergy should have seats and votes. The Council was to be fully representative of the Church, and so was entirely democratic. All who satisfied the scrutineers, and were incorporated as members, took equal part in the proceedings. At first the dangers of this course had not shown themselves; but as the proceedings of the Council were protracted, the prelates who took a leading part in its business became fewer.[2] The constitution of the Council was shifting from week to week. Only those were permanent who had some personal interest to gain, or who were strong partisans. The enemies of Eugenius IV. clung to the Council as the justification of their past conduct as well as of their hope in the

[1] From the time of the adhesion of Eugenius IV. John of Segovia tells us that Cesarini's attitude began to change: 'Ex hac die multi ex patribus manifestius animadverterunt legatum ipsum jam non fore tam ardentem pro auctoritate generalium conciliorum quo modo primum,' 606. The change was as much on the part of the opposition as of the legate: he accepted the adhesion of Eugenius, and was ready to forget the past, while the enemies of Eugenius IV. had no such intention.

[2] Eugenius, in his *Apology*, Raynaldus, 1436, § 8, 9, says that there were never more than 150 prelates at Basel, and at the time he wrote scarcely 25.

future. Adventurers who had everything to gain, and little to lose, flocked to Basel, and cast in their lot with the Council as affording them a better chance of promotion than did the Curia. Thus the Council became more and more democratic and revolutionary in its tendencies. The prelates drew to the side of Cesarini, and found themselves more and more in a minority, opposed to a majority which was bent on the entire humiliation of the Papacy.[1]

Reaction in favour of Eugenius IV.

It was natural that the violence of the French radical party should cause a reaction in favour of the Pope. Many had been in favour of the Council against the Pope, when the Council wished for reform, which the Pope tried to check. They were shaken in their allegiance when the Council, under the name of reform, was pursuing mainly the depression of the Papal power, and the transference of its old authority into the hands of a self-elected and non-representative oligarchy. The cry was raised that the Council was in the French interest; that it simply continued the old struggle of Avignon against Rome. The friends of Eugenius IV. began to raise their heads, and attacked the Council on political grounds, so as to detach from it the princes of Christendom. Their arguments may be gathered from a letter of Ambrogio Traversari to Sigismund, in January, 1436: 'The Council of Basel has found time for nothing but the subversion of Catholic peace and the depression of the Pope. They have now been assembled for five years; and see on how wrongful a basis their business proceeds. In old days bishops, full of the fear of God, the zeal of religion, and the fervour of faith, used to settle the affairs of the Church. Now the matter is in the hands of the common herd; for scarcely out of five hundred members, as I saw with my own eyes, were there twenty bishops;

[1] This complaint is universal among the writers on the Papal side, and was raised by Eugenius IV. in his *Apology*. Æneas Sylvius, himself an adventurer in Basel, says rhetorically, 'Inter episcopos, cæterosque patres conscriptos, vidimus in Basilea coquos et stabularios orbis negotia judicantes; quis horum dicta vel facta judicaverit legis habere vigorem?' *Oratio adversus Australes*, in Mansi, *Pii II. Orationes*, i., 231.

the rest were either the lower orders of the clergy, or were laymen; and all consult their private feelings rather than the good of the Church. No wonder that the Council drags on for years, and produces nothing but scandal and danger of schism. The good men are lost in the ignorant and turbulent multitude. The French, led by the Cardinal of Arles and the Archbishop of Lyons, want to transfer the Papacy into France. Where every one seeks his own interest, and the vote of a cook is as good as that of a legate or an archbishop, it is shameless blasphemy to claim for their resolutions the authority of the Holy Ghost. They aim only at a disruption of the Church. They have set up a tribunal on the model of the Papal court; they exercise jurisdiction, and draw causes before them. They confer the pallium on archbishops, and claim to grant indulgences. They aim at nothing less than the perpetuation of the Council, in opposition to the Pope.'[1]

The Council's success in Bohemia.

There was enough truth in this view of the situation to incline the statesmen of Europe to take a more languid interest in the proceedings of the Council. Moreover, the Council had lost its political importance by the gradual subsidence of the Bohemian question. The Council had done its work when it succeeded in bringing to a head the divergence of opinion which had always existed between Bohemian parties. The negotiations with the Council had given strength to the party which wished to recognise authority, and was not prepared to break entirely with the traditions of the past. Round it gathered the various elements of political discontent arising from the long domination of the democratic and revolutionary party. At the battle of Lipan the Taborites met with such a defeat that they could no longer offer a determined resistance to the plan for a reconciliation with Sigismund.

But the hopes of immediate success which the fight of Lipan awakened in Basel were by no means realised at

[1] *Traversarii Epistolæ*, ed. Mehus, ii., 238.

once. The spirit of the Bohemian Reformation was still strong; and though the Calixtins were on the whole in favour of reconciliation with the Church, they had no intention of abandoning their original position. The Bohemian Diet in June, 1434, proclaimed a general peace with all Utraquists, and a truce for a year with all Catholics. It took measures for the pacification of the land and the restoration of order. To Sigismund's envoys, who had come to procure his recognition as King of Bohemia, the Diet answered by appointing deputies to confer with Sigismund at Regensburg. Thither the Council was requested by Sigismund to send its former envoys. On August 16 its embassy, headed by Philibert, Bishop of Coutances, but of which John of Palomar was the most active member, entered Regensburg an hour after the Bohemians, chief amongst whom were John of Rokycana, Martin Lupak, and Meinhard of Neuhaus. As usual, Sigismund kept them waiting, and did not arrive till August 21. Meanwhile the Council's envoys and the Bohemians had several conferences, which did not show that their differences were disappearing. The Bohemians were requested to do as they had done at previous conferences, and not attend mass in the churches. They consented; but John of Rokycana remarked that it would be better if the Council were to drive out of the churches evil priests rather than faithful laymen, who only wished to receive the Communion under both kinds. John of Palomar had to apologise for the Council's delay in its work of reform; the English and Spanish representatives, he said, had not yet arrived, and everything could not be done at once.

Negotiations at Regensburg. August, 1434.

When negotiations began on August 22 Sigismund and the Council's envoys found that the Bohemians were firm in their old position. They were willing to recognise Sigismund on condition that he restored peace in Bohemia, which could only be done by upholding the Four Articles of Prag, and binding all the people of Bohemia and Moravia to receive the Communion under both kinds. Sigismund appealed to the

Unsatisfactory results of the negotiations. September, 1434.

national feelings of the Bohemians by a speech in their own tongue, in which he recalled the connexion of his house with Bohemia. About the questions in dispute John of Rokycana and John of Palomar again indulged in the old arguments, till the Bohemians declared that they were sent to the Emperor, not to the Council's envoys. They submitted their request to Sigismund in writing, and Sigismund in writing gave answer, begging them to stand by the Compacts of Prag. The Bohemians declared their intention of doing so, but said that the Compacts must be understood to apply to the whole of Bohemia and Moravia. John of Palomar declared that the Council could not compel faithful Catholics to adopt a new rite, though they were prepared to allow it to those who desired it. The conclusion of the conference was that the Bohemian envoys should report to the Diet, soon to be held at Prag, the difficulties which had arisen, and should send its answer to the Emperor and to the Council. Matters had advanced no further than they were at the time of accepting the Compacts. In some ways the tone of the conference at Regensburg was less conciliatory than that of the previous ones. One of the Bohemian envoys fell from a window and was killed. The Council's ambassadors objected to his burial with the rites of the Church, on the ground that he was not received into the Church's communion. This caused great indignation among the Bohemians, who resented this attempt to terrorise over them. Still they submitted to the Council's envoys a series of questions about the election of an archbishop of Prag, and the views of the Council about the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with the Compacts. Sigismund besought the Council for money to act against Bohemia, and some of the Bohemian nobles asserted that with money enough Bohemia could soon be reduced to obedience. Yet Sigismund did not hesitate to express to the Council's envoys his many grounds for grievance at the Council's procedure. The parties in the conference at Regensburg were at cross purposes. Sigismund, dissatisfied with the

Council, wished to make it useful for himself. The Council wished to show Sigismund that its help was indispensable for the settlement of the Bohemian question. Bohemia wished for peace, but on condition of retaining in matters ecclesiastical a basis of national unity, without which it felt that peace would be illusory. On September 3 the conference came to an end without arriving at any conclusion. All parties separated mutually dissatisfied.[1]

Still these repeated negotiations strengthened the peace party in Bohemia. Of the proceedings of the Diet held at Prag on October 23 we know little; but they ended in an abandonment by the Bohemians of the position which they had taken up at Regensburg. There they had maintained that, as the people of Bohemia and Moravia were of one language and under one rule, so ought they to be of one ritual in the most solemn act of Christian worship. They now decided to seek a basis of religious unity which would respect the rights of the minority, and on November 8 wrote, not to the Council, but to the Council's envoys, proposing that in those places where the Communion under both kinds had been accepted it should be recognised; in those places where the Communion under one kind had been retained it should remain. Mutual toleration was to be enjoined, and an archbishop and bishops were to be elected by the clergy, with the consent of the Diet, who were to be subject to the Council and to the Pope in matters agreeable to the law of God, but no further, and who were to regulate the discipline of the Church in Bohemia and Moravia.[2] It was a proposal for the organisation of the Bohemian Church on a national basis, so as to obtain security against the danger of a Catholic reaction.

Proposals of the Bohemians to the Council and to Sigismund. November, 1434—March, 1435.

[1] John of Segovia, 675: 'Itaque expedita dieta secuta minime fuerunt que ex ipsis eventura primo autumabantur, adepcio regni Bohemie, pro qua imperator, et acceptacio firma articulorum fidei, pro qua instabat sancta synodus'.

[2] The letter, ascribed to Rokycana, is in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 631.

The Council's answer to the Bohemians was, that they would again send their former envoys to confer with them and with the Emperor. The Bohemians, seeing that little was to be hoped for from the Council, resolved to see if they could obtain from Sigismund the securities which they wished. A Diet held in Prag in March, 1435, sent Sigismund its demands: the Four Articles were to be accepted; the Emperor, his court, his chaplain, and all State officers were to communicate under both kinds; complete amnesty was to be given for the past, and a genuinely national Government was to exist for the future.[1] The envoys who brought these demands to Sigismund inquired if the Council's ambassadors, who were already with Sigismund in Posen, were prepared to accept the offer made by the Diet in the previous November; otherwise it was useless for the Bohemians to trouble themselves further or incur more expense. But the Council's ambassadors had come armed with secret instructions, and refused to have their hand forced. They answered that their mission was to the Emperor in Council of the Bohemians assembled, and then only could they speak.

Many preliminaries had to be arranged before the Conference finally took place at Brünn. There the Council's envoys arrived on May 20, and were received with ringing of bells and all manifestations of joy by the people. On June 18 came the Bohemian representatives; but Sigismund did not appear till July 1. Meanwhile the Bohemians and the Council's envoys had several sharp discussions. Those of the Bohemians who had been reconciled to the Church were allowed to attend the mass; but the others were forbidden to enter the churches, and were refused a chapel where they might celebrate mass after their own fashion. On June 28 some of the Bohemians, on being requested to withdraw from a church where they had come with their comrades, were so indignant that they were on the point of leaving Brünn, and were only

Conference at Brünn. July, 1435.

[1] In *Mon. Concil.*, i., 537.

appeased by the intervention of Albert of Austria, who had luckily arrived a few days before.

Difficulties about the interpretation of the Compacts.

The day after Sigismund's arrival, on July 2, John of Rokycana brought forward three demands on the part of the Bohemians: that the Four Articles be accepted throughout the whole of Bohemia and Moravia; that those countries be freed from all charge of heresy, and that the Council of Basel proceed with the reformation of the Church in life, morals and faith. He asked also for an answer to the demands sent to Eger by the Bohemian Diet in the previous November. The Council's envoys answered by justifying the procedure of the Council and blaming the Bohemians for not keeping to the Compacts but raising new difficulties. There was much disputation. The Bohemians professed their willingness to abide by the Compacts as interpreted by their demands sent to Eger; the legates answered that these demands were contrary to the Compacts themselves. Sigismund urged the legates to give way, but they refused. On July 8 the legates demanded that the Bohemians should declare their adhesion to the Compacts, as they had promised; no promise had been made by the Council about the Eger articles, otherwise it would have been fulfilled. It was clear to the Bohemians that the Council regarded the Compacts as the ultimate point of their concessions, whereas the Bohemians looked on them only as a starting-point for further arrangements. John of Rokycana angrily answered the legates, 'We are willing to stand by the Compacts; but they cannot be fulfilled till they are completed. Much must be added to them; for instance, as regards obedience to bishops, we will not obey them if they order what is contrary to God's word. How do you ask us to fulfil our promises when you will not fulfil yours? It seems to us that you aim at nothing save to sow division amongst us, for since your coming we are worse off than before, and will take heed that it be so no longer. We ask no difficult things. We ask for an archbishop to be elected by the clergy and people or appointed

by the King. We ask that causes be not transferred out of the realm. We ask that the Communion be celebrated under both kinds in those places where the use exists. These are not difficult matters; grant them and we will fulfil the Compacts. We do not ask these things through fear, or through doubt of their lawfulness; we ask them for the sake of peace and unity. If you do not grant them, the Lord be with you, for I trust He is with us.' While John of Palomar was preparing a reply, the Bohemians left the room and thenceforth conferred only with the legates through Sigismund.

Agreement of the Bohemians with Sigismund, July 6, 1435.

The Bohemian envoys had, in fact, begun to negotiate directly with Sigismund, who showed himself much more ready to give way than did the legates of the Council. On July 6 a proposal was made to Sigismund that he should grant in his own name what the Council refused. Under the pretext of removing difficulties and providing for some things omitted in the Compacts, Sigismund promised that benefices should not be conferred by strangers outside Bohemia and Moravia, but only by the king; that no Bohemian or Moravian should be cited or be judged outside the kingdom; that those who preferred to communicate under one kind only should, to avoid confusion, be tolerated only in those places which had always maintained the old ritual; that the archbishops and bishops should be elected by the Bohemian clergy and people. These articles Sigismund promised to uphold before the Council, the Pope, and all men.[1] The legates of the Council strongly deprecated any secret negotiations on the part of Sigismund; the Bohemians, relying on the promises they had received, showed themselves more conciliatory. On July 14 they offered to sign the Compacts with the addition of a clause, 'Saving the liberties and privileges of the kingdom and of the margravate of Moravia'. This the legates would not accept, as it clearly

[1] They are given in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 662.

carried the election of the archbishop by the people and clergy. Sigismund answered the legates privately, and besought them to consent, lest they should be the cause of a rupture, and woe to them through whom that came. When the legates again refused, he angrily said, 'You of the Council have granted articles to the Bohemians, and have held conferences without my knowledge, but I acquiesced. Why, then, will you not acquiesce for my sake in this small matter? If you wish me to lose my kingdom, I do not.' He exclaimed in German to those around him, 'Those of Basel wish to do nothing except diminish the power of the Pope and Emperor'. He showed his indignation by abruptly dismissing the legates.

Sigismund's anger cooled down, and the clause was withdrawn. The Bohemians demanded the acceptance of various explanations of the Compacts, which the legates steadily refused. At last the signing of the Compacts was again deferred because the legates would not substitute, in the article which declared 'that the goods of the Church cannot be possessed without guilt of sacrilege,' the words 'unjustly detained' (*injuste deteneri*) for 'possessed' (*usurpari*). On August 3 the Bohemians departed, and the legates undertook to lay their demands before the Council and meet them again at Prag in the end of September.

The Council's envoys dissatisfy Sigismund and the Bohemians.

The Council's envoys had acted faithfully by the letter of their instructions;[1] they had stood upon the Compacts, and had refused to make any further concessions or even admit any material explanations. The negotiations had therefore passed out of their hands into those of Sigismund. The Compacts had laid the foundations of an agreement. The Council had opened the door to concessions; and Sigismund was justified in declaring that the Council could not claim to have the sole right of interpreting the concessions so made or regulating

The Bohemian question passes from the Council to Sigismund.

[1] These instructions are given in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 619.

the exact method of their application. The proceedings at Brünn led the Bohemians to think that the Council had dealt with them unfairly, and after begging them to accept the Compacts as a means to further agreement, was now bent on doing its utmost to make the Compacts illusory. The Bohemians therefore turned to Sigismund and resolved to seek first for political unity, and then to maintain their own interpretation of the Compacts by securing the organisation of a national Church according to their wishes. In this state of things the interests of the Council and of Sigismund were no longer identical. The Council wished to minimise the effect of the concessions which it had made—concessions which were indeed necessary, yet might form a dangerous precedent in the Church. Sigismund wished to obtain peaceable possession of Bohemia, and trusted to his own cleverness afterwards to restore orthodoxy.[1] The one thing that was rendered tolerably certain by the conference at Brünn was the recognition of Sigismund as King of Bohemia, and he was determined that the Council should not be an obstacle in the way. At the same time Sigismund was rigidly attached to the orthodox cause; but he was convinced that the reduction of Bohemia was a matter for himself rather than the Council.

Bohemia decides to recognise Sigismund. September, 1435.

The proceedings with Sigismund at Brünn satisfied the peace party in Bohemia, and the Diet, which met in Prag on September 21, ratified all that had been done. The submission of Bohemia to the Church and to Sigismund was finally agreed to on the strength of Sigismund's promises. A committee of two barons, two knights, three citizens, and nine priests

[1] See the relation of the envoys to the Council, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 669: 'Imperator nobis dixit, quod nemo putaret ipsum habere affectum ad habendum illud regnum propter se . . . sed propter Deum et fidem: et quod libenter de illo faceret offertorium ad altare ut ad fidem debitam reduceretur debitumque statum'. The position of the envoys is given in p. 672: 'Cum enim ille declaraciones illorum articulorum essent non solum pro Bohemia, sed essent doctrina generalis ecclesie, et dicte declarationes essent jam publicate per mundum, nos nuncii sacri concilii in illis verbum aliquod minime mutaremus'.

was appointed to elect an archbishop and two suffragans. Their choice fell on John of Rokycana as archbishop, Martin Lupak and Wenzel of Hohenmaut as bishops. On December 21 the Bohemian envoys again met Sigismund and the legates of the Council at Stuhlweissenburg. The legates had heard of Rokycana's election, though it was kept a secret pending Sigismund's confirmation. They were perturbed by the understanding which seemed to exist between Sigismund and the Bohemians. They had come from Basel empowered to change the words in the Compacts as the Bohemians wished, and substitute 'unjustly detained' for 'possessed'; but before doing so they demanded that Sigismund should give them a written agreement for the strict observance of the Compacts on his part. This was really a demand that Sigismund should declare that he intended the promises which he had made to the Bohemians at Brünn to be illusory. Meinhard of Neuhaus, the chief of Sigismund's partisans amongst the Bohemians, was consulted on this point. He answered, 'If the Emperor publicly revoke his promises, all dealings with the Bohemians are at an end; if he revoke them secretly, it will some day be known, and then the Emperor, if he were in Bohemia, would be in great danger from the people'.[1]

Difficulties with the Council's envoys. December, 1435.

Accordingly Sigismund refused to sign the document which the legates laid before him, and submitted another, which declared generally his intention of abiding by the Compacts, but which did not satisfy the legates. Sigismund referred the legates to the Bohemians, and they accordingly demanded that the Bohemians should renounce all requests which they had made contrary to the Compacts. This the Bohemians refused, and Sigismund endeavoured to lead the legates to a more conciliatory frame of mind by telling them that 'dissimulation on many points was needful with the Bohemians, that he might obtain the kingdom; when that was done,

[1] Carlier, *De Legationibus*, in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 681.

he would bring things back to their former condition'. The legates answered that their instructions from the Council were to see that the Compacts were duly executed; when this was done, the king's power would remain as it had always been; if the Bohemians wanted more than the king could grant, they could seek further favours from the Council. The question of the Emperor's agreement with the Council again raised much discussion. The Bohemians refused any responsibility in the matter. 'If there is ought between you and the legates,' they said to Sigismund, 'it is nothing to us, we neither give assent nor dissent.'[1] The agreement was at last drawn up in general terms. The legates contented themselves with Sigismund's verbal promise as to his general intentions, and a written statement that he accepted the Compacts sincerely according to their plain meaning, and would not permit that any one be compelled to communicate under both kinds nor anything else to be done in contradiction to the Compacts. Iglau was fixed by the Bohemians as a frontier town in which the final signing of the Compacts might be quietly accomplished, and the ambassadors departed on January 31, 1436, to reassemble at Iglau in the end of May.

In all these negotiations the result had been to put difficulties out of sight rather than to make any agreement. Since the conference at Prag in 1433 no nearer approach had been made by the Bohemians to the orthodoxy of the Council. They had rather strengthened themselves in a policy by which they might obtain the advantages of peace and union with the Church, and yet might retain the greatest possible measure of ecclesiastical independence. This they hoped to secure by a strong national organisation, while Sigismund trusted that once in power he would be able to direct the Catholic reaction; and the Council, after taking all possible steps to save its dignity, was reluctantly compelled to trust to Sigismund's assurance.

[1] Carlier, *De Legationibus*, in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 689.

Sigismund appeared at Iglau on June 6; but the Bohemians were on the point of departing in anger when they found that the legates had come only with powers to sign the Compacts, not to confirm the election of the Bohemian bishops. With some difficulty the Bohemians were prevailed upon to accept Sigismund's promise that he would do his utmost to obtain from the Council and the Pope a ratification of the election of the bishops whom they had chosen. At last, on July 5, the Emperor, in his robes of state, took his place on a throne in the market-place of Iglau. The Duke of Austria bore the golden apple, the Count of Cilly the sceptre, and another count the sword. Before Sigismund went the legates of the Council, and by them took their places the Bohemian envoys. The signing of the Compacts was solemnly ratified by both parties. John Walwar, a citizen of Prag, gave to the legates a copy of the Compacts duly signed and sealed, together with a promise that the Bohemians would accept peace and unity with the Church. Four Bohemian priests, previously chosen for the purpose, took oath of obedience, shaking hands with the legates and afterwards with Rokycana, to show that they held him as their archbishop. Then the legates on their part handed a copy of the Compacts to the Bohemians, admitting them to peace and unity with the Church, relieving them from all ecclesiastical censures, and ordering all men to be at peace with them and hold them clear of all reproach. Proclamation was made in Sigismund's name that next day the Bohemians should enter the Church and the Compacts be read in the Bohemian tongue. Then the Bishop of Coutances, in a loud clear voice, began to sing the 'Te Deum,' in which all joined with fervour. When it was done, Sigismund and the legates entered the church for mass; the Bohemians, raising a hymn, marched to their inn, where they held their service. Both parties wept for joy at the ending of their long strife.

Signing of the Compacts at Iglau. July 5, 1436.

The next day showed that difficulties were not at an end, that the peace was hollow, and that the main points of dis-

agreement still remained unsettled. In the parish church, the Bishop of Coutances celebrated mass at the high altar, and John of Rokycana at a side altar. The Compacts were read by Rokycana from the pulpit in the Bohemian tongue, then he added, 'Let those of the Bohemians who have the grace of communicating under both kinds come to this altar'. The legates protested to the Emperor. John of Palomar cried out, 'Master John, observe the canons; do not administer the sacraments in a church of which you are not priest'.[1] Rokycana paid no heed, but administered to seven persons. The legates were indignant at this violation of ecclesiastical regulations, and said, 'Yesterday you vowed canonical obedience; to-day you break it. What is this?' Rokycana answered that he was acting in accordance with the Compacts, and paid little heed to the technical objection raised by the legates. Sigismund urged the legates to grant a church, or at least an altar, where the Bohemians might practise their own ritual. The legates, who were irritated still more by hearing that Martin Lupak had carried through the streets the sacrament under both kinds to a dying man, refused their consent. The Bohemians bitterly exclaimed that they had been deceived, and that the Compacts were illusory. They threatened to depart at once, and it required all Sigismund's skill in the management of men to prevail on the Bohemians to stay till they had arranged the preliminaries about his reception as King of Bohemia. The utmost concession that he could obtain from the legates was, that one priest might celebrate mass after the Bohemian ritual. They refused to commission for this purpose either Rokycana or Martin Lupak, and accepted Wenzel of Drachow, on condition that they should first examine him to be sure of his orthodoxy. This Wenzel refused, and the Bohemians continued to celebrate their own rites in their houses, as they had done previously.

Dispute between Rokycana and the legates. July 6, 1435.

[1] 'Non ministretis sacramenta in aliena parochia.' Thomas Ebendorf's *Diarium*, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 779. See also John of Tours' *Registrum*, *Ibid.*, 821.

Thus the long negotiations with the Council had led to no real agreement. The signing of the Compacts was rather an expression on both sides of the desire for peace, and for the outward unity of the Church, than any settlement of the points at issue. The conception of a united Christendom had not yet been destroyed, and both parties were willing to make concessions to maintain it. But neither side abandoned their convictions, and the peace which had been proclaimed affected only the outward aspect of affairs. The Bohemians remained the victors. They had re-entered the Church on condition that they were allowed an exceptional position. It remained for them to make good the position which they had won, and use wisely and soberly the means which they had at their disposal for this purpose.

Hollowness of the reconciliation of the Bohemians.

In political matters also they saw the necessity of abandoning their attitude of revolt, and entering again the State system of Europe. They were willing to recognise Sigismund, but on condition that he ensured the Bohemian nationality against German influences. On July 20 Sigismund agreed to ratify the rights and privileges of the Bohemians, to be guided by the advice of a Bohemian Council, to uphold the University of Prag, to admit none but Bohemians to office in the land, and to grant a full amnesty for all that had happened during the revolt. On August 20 the Governor of Bohemia, Ales of Riesenburg, laid down his office in Sigismund's presence, and the Bohemian nobles swore fidelity to their king. On August 23 Sigismund entered Prag in state, and was received with joyous acclamations by the people. The pacification of Bohemia was completed. The great work which Europe had demanded of the Council was actually accomplished.

Sigismund enters Prag as King of Bohemia. August 23, 1436.

If we consider the deserts of the Council in this matter, we see that its real importance lay in the fact that it could admit the Bohemians to a conference without injuring the prestige of the Church. A Pope could adopt no other attitude towards heretics than

Merits of the Council in its policy towards Bohemia.

one of resolute resistance. A Council could invite discussion, in which each party might engage with a firm belief that it would succeed in convincing the other. The decree for reunion with the Church arose from the exhaustion of Bohemia and its internal dissensions; it found that it could no longer endure to pay the heavy price which isolation from the rest of Europe involved on a small state. The temper of the Bohemians was met with admirable tact and moderation by the Council under the influence of Cesarini. Moral sympathy and not intellectual agreement tended to bring the parties together. The impulse given at first was strong enough to resist the reaction, when both parties found that they were not likely to convince each other. But the religious motives tended to become secondary to political considerations. The basis of conciliation afforded by the negotiations with Basel was used by the peace party in Bohemia and by Sigismund to establish an agreement between themselves. When this had been done, the position of the Council was limited to one of resistance to the extension of concessions to the Bohemians. The Council was thenceforth a hindrance rather than a help to the unscrupulous policy of illusory promises, which Sigismund had determined to adopt towards Bohemia till his power was fully established. From this time the Council lost all political significance for the Emperor, who was no longer interested in maintaining it against the Pope, and felt aggrieved by its treatment of himself, as well as by its democratic tendencies, which threatened the whole State system of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE COUNCIL.

1436—1438.

If Sigismund's interest in the Council had faded away, the interest of France had equally begun to wane. At the opening of the Council, France, in her misery and distress, the legacy of the long war with England, felt a keen sympathy with one of the Council's objects, the general pacification of Christendom. The Council's zeal in this matter stirred up the Pope to emulation, and Eugenius IV. busied himself to prevent the Council from gaining any additional prestige. In 1431 Cardinal Albergata was sent by the Pope to arrange peace between England, Burgundy, and France. His negotiations were fruitless for a time; but the ill-success of the English induced them in 1435 to consent to a congress to be held at Arras. Thither went Albergata as Papal legate, and on the side of the Council was sent Cardinal Lusignan. Representatives of the chief States of Europe were present; and 9000 strangers, amongst whom were 500 knights, thronged the streets of Arras. In the conference which began in August the rival legates vied with one another in splendour and in loftiness of pretension. But though Lusignan was of higher lineage, Albergata was the more skilful diplomat, and exercised greater influence over the negotiations. England, foreseeing the desertion of Burgundy, refused the proposed terms, and withdrew from the congress on September 6. Philip of Burgundy's scruples were skilfully combated by Albergata.

Congress of Arras. 1435.

Philip wished for peace, but wished also to save his honour. The legate's absolution from his oath, not to make a separate peace from England, afforded him the means of retreating from an obligation which had begun to be burdensome. On the interposition of the Church Philip laid aside his vengeance for his father's murder, and was reconciled to Charles VII. of France on September 21. The treaty was made under the joint auspices of the Pope and the Council. Both claimed the credit of this pacification. Cesarini, when the news reached Basel, said that if the Council had sat for twenty years, and had done nothing more than this, it would have done enough to satisfy all gainsayers.[1] But in spite of the Council's claims it had won less prestige in France than had Eugenius IV., and France had no further hopes of political aid from its activity.

Neutrality of Europe in the struggle between the Pope and the Council.

Thus the chief States of Europe had little to gain either from Pope or Council, and had no reason to take either side, when the struggle again broke out about the union with the Eastern Church. The letter of Eugenius IV., asking the princes of Europe to withdraw their countenance from the Council, met with no answer; but the Council had no zealous protector on whose help it could rely. The conflict that ensued was petty and ignoble.

Financial difficulties of the Council.

The policy of Eugenius IV. was to allure the Council to some Italian city where he could more easily manage to bring about its dissolution. In this he was helped by the desire of the Greeks to avoid a long journey overland, and his envoy Garatoni had continued to confirm them in their objection to go to Basel or to cross the Alps. The Council was fully alive to the Pope's project, and hoped to prevail upon the Greeks, when once their journey was begun, to give way to their wishes. But the great practical difficulty which the Council had to face was one of finance. The cost of bringing the Greeks to

[1] Martene and Durand, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 882.

Basel was computed at 71,000 ducats and their maintenance, which could not be reckoned at less than 200,000 ducats.[1] Moreover, it would be needful that the Western Church should not be outdone by the Eastern in the number of prelates present at the Council. At least a hundred bishops must be summoned to Basel, and it might not be an easy matter to induce them to come. The sale of indulgences had not been productive of so rich a harvest as the Council had hoped. In Constantinople the Bull was not allowed to be published, and the Greeks were by no means favourably impressed by this proof of the Council's zeal. In Europe, generally, it had awakened dissatisfaction; it was a sign that the reforming Council was ready to use for its own purposes the abuses which it condemned in the Pope, Altogether, the Council had before it a difficult task to raise the necessary supplies and celebrate its conference with due magnificence in the face of the Pope's opposition.

As a preliminary step towards raising money and settling the place of the conference, envoys were sent in May, 1436, to negotiate for loans in the various cities which had been mentioned. They were required to promise 70,000 ducats at once, and to undertake to make further advances it necessary. The envoys visited Milan, Venice, Florence, Siena, Buda, Vienna, Avignon, as well as France and Savoy. In August Venice offered any town in the patriarchate of Aquileia, the Duke of Milan any town in his dominions; both guaranteed the loan. Florence also offered herself. Siena was willing to receive the Council, but could not lend more than 30,000 ducats. The Duke of Austria was so impoverished by the Bohemian wars that he could not offer any money but would welcome the Council in Vienna. The citizens of Avignon were ready to promise all that the Council wished. During the month of November the representatives of Venice, Florence, Pavia, and Avignon harangued the Council in

Negotiations for the place of the conference with the Greeks May, 1436.

[1] See *Avisamenta pro facto Græcorum*, Martene, *Amp. Coll.*, viii., 895 and *Instrucciones pro Oratoribus* in John of Segovia, 902.

favour of their respective cities.[1] Venice and Florence were clearly in favour of the Pope, and so were not acceptable to the Council. In Pavia the Council would be sure enough of the Duke of Milan's hostility to the Pope, but could not feel so confident of its own freedom from his interference. If the Greeks would not come to Basel, Avignon was, in the eyes of the majority, the most eligible place.

Cesarini joins the Papal party. November, 1436.

But though the majority might be of this opinion, there had been growing up in the Council a strong opposition. The undisguised hostility of the extreme party to the Pope had driven moderate men to acquiesce in the pretensions of Eugenius IV., and this question of the place of conference with the Greeks was fiercely contested on both sides. Cesarini had for some time felt that he was losing his influence over the Council, which followed the more democratic Cardinal d'Allemand. He now began to speak decidedly on the Pope's side. He argued with justice that Avignon was not specified in the agreement made with the Greeks; that the Pope's presence at the conference was necessary, if for no other reason, at least as a means of providing money; that if any help was to be given to the Greeks against the Turks the Pope alone could summon Europe to the work; finally, he urged that if the Pope and Council were in antagonism, union with the Greeks was rendered ridiculous. On these grounds he besought the Council to choose a place which was convenient for the Pope.[2] There were angry replies, till on November 10 Cesarini took the step of openly ranging himself on the Pope's side. He warned the Council that henceforth they were to regard him as a Papal legate, and sent a paper to all the deputations demanding that in future no conclusions

[1] The amusingly rhetorical speech of Æneas Sylvius, acting for the Duke of Milan in behalf of Pavia, is given in Mansi, *Pii II. Orationes*, p. 5. It reads, from its careful attention to style, like a new language when compared with the other records of the Council.

[2] John of Segovia, i., 913.

be arrived at respecting the Roman See until he had first been heard at length on the matter.[1]

But the dominant party was determined to have its own way and took measures to out-vote its opponents. It summoned the priests from the neighbourhood and flooded the Council with its own creatures.[2] On December 5 the votes were taken, and it was found that more than two-thirds of the Council, 242 out of 355, voted at the bidding of the Cardinal d'Allemand for Basel in the first instance; failing that, Avignon, and failing that, some place in Savoy. Basel had been already refused by the Greeks. The Duke of Savoy had not offered to provide money for the Council. The vote was really given for Avignon alone. Cesarini, in the Pope's name and in his own, protested against Avignon as not contained in the treaty made with the Greeks; if the Council refused to go to Italy there remained only Buda, Vienna, and Savoy as eligible; if the Council decided on Savoy, he would accept it as according to the agreement; beyond this he could not go. In spite of his written protest, the majority confirmed their vote by a decree in favour of Avignon.

Choice of Avignon by the Council. December 5, 1436.

At the beginning of February, 1437, the Greek ambassador, John Dissipatus, arrived in Basel, and was surprised to find that the Council had fixed on Avignon. He vainly pleaded that Avignon was not included in the decree which the Greeks had accepted, and when the Council paid no heed he handed in a protest on February 15. The Council requested him to accompany their envoys

Compromise of February 23, 1437.

[1] The gradual change of opinion on the part of Cesarini may be traced in the letters of Ambrogio Traversari, 143-175. Traversari takes credit to his own arguments for producing the result.

[2] John of Palomar, in Mansi, *Supplementum*, vi., 576, says: 'Illi qui iverant per plateas in brevibus vestibus et ad mensas dominorum ministraverant, tunc sumptis longis vestibus Deputationes intrarunt ut sic numerus vaccilium augeretur'. Eugenius, in a letter to the Duke of Savoy (Cecconi, No. CXCV.), says: 'Multitudine vocum, quas diversis artibus cotidie propter hoc negotium ad concilium venire fecerant, conati sunt eligere civitatem Avenionensem'.

to Constantinople. He refused, declaring his intention of visiting the Pope and renewing his protest before him: if no remedy could be found he would publish to the world that the Council could not keep its promises. The majority at Basel was little moved by these complaints, save so far as they tended to strengthen the position of the minority which was working in favour of the Pope. Through fear of playing into their hands, a compromise was made on February 23. The Council decreed that the citizens of Avignon were to be required to pay, within thirty days, the 70,000 ducats which they had promised; a further term of twelve days was allowed them to bring proof of their payment to Basel; if this were not done in the appointed time the Council 'could, and was bound,' to proceed to the election of another place.[1]

The Archbishop of Taranto organises the Papal party. April, 1437.

During the period of this truce arrived, on April 1, the Archbishop of Taranto, as a new Papal legate, accompanied by the Greeks who had visited the Pope at Bologna. His arrival gave a new turn to affairs. Cesarini was opposed, on grounds of practical wisdom, to the proceedings of the Council rather than decidedly in favour of the Pope; the Archbishop of Taranto entered the lists as a violent partisan, as energetic and as unscrupulous as was the Cardinal d'Allemand. He set to work to organise the Papal party and to devise a policy of resistance. Opportunity soon befriended him. As the term allowed to Avignon to pay its money drew near its close there was no news of any payment. Parties in favour of the Pope and the Council were formed amongst the burghers, and the disunion awakened the fears of the cautious merchants, who doubted whether the Council's presence within their walls would prove a profitable investment; they proposed to defer the full payment of the money till the actual arrival of the Greeks. On this the Papal

[1] 'Alioquin ex tunc ipsum sacrum concilium possit et teneatur ad electionem alterius loci pro ycumenico concilio celebrando procedere.' The 'cedula consensus patrum' is given by John of Segovia, 936.

party insisted that the agreement with Avignon was forfeited, and on April 12, the day on which the term expired, Cesarini exhorted the Council to proceed to the choice of another place. In his speech he used the words 'the authority of the Apostolic See'; there was at once a shout of indignation, as it was thought that he hinted at the dissolution of the Council. The discussion was warm, and the sitting broke up in confusion.

Schism in the Council. April 17, 1437.

The position assumed by the Archbishop of Taranto was that the decree of February 23 was rigidly binding; the contingency contemplated in it had actually occurred, and the Council was bound to make a new election. Nay, if some members of the Council refused to do so, he argued, from the analogy of a capitular election, that the power of the Council devolved on those who were ready to act—a numerical minority, if acting according to the law, could override a majority which acted illegally.[1] The Papal party numbered about seventy votes, their opponents about two hundred; but the Archbishop of Taranto's policy was to create a schism in the Council and destroy the power of the majority by the prestige of the 'saner part'. Accordingly on April 17, when the deputations voted on the question of adhering to Avignon or choosing another place, the presidents in three of the deputations, being on the Papal side, refused the votes in favour of Avignon as technically incorrect, and returned the result of the voting as in favour of a new election. When the majority protested with shouts and execrations, the minority withdrew and allowed them to declare their vote in favour of Avignon. There was now a hopeless deadlock; the two parties sat separately, and the efforts of the German

[1] John of Segovia, 956: 'Continuo autem Cardinalis sancti Petri dicebat de jure fore quod in actibus communitatis, quando universitas deficit, quemlibet universitatis illius posse supplere; unde cum papa consensisset in decreto Græcorum, ad eum, quia summus pontifex, caput ecclesiæ et principale membrum, spectabat laborare ne ecclesia Latina deficeret in promissis'.

ambassadors and of the citizens of Basel were alike unavailing to restore concord.

When agreement proved to be impossible, both sides prepared to fight out their contention to the end. On April 26 the majority published its decree abiding by Avignon; the minority published its choice of Florence or Udine, and asserted that henceforth the power of the Council, as regarded this question, was vested in those who were willing to keep their promise.[1] In the wild excitement that prevailed suspicions were rife, and violence was easily provoked. On the following Sunday, when the Cardinal of Arles proceeded to the Minster to celebrate mass, he found the altar already occupied by the Archbishop of Taranto, who suspected that the opportunity might be used of publishing the decree of the majority in the name of the Council, and who had resolved in that case to be beforehand. Loud cries and altercations were heard on all sides; only the crowded state of the cathedral, which prevented men from raising their arms, saved the scandal of open violence. The civic guards had to keep the peace between the combatants. Evening brought reflection, and both parties dreaded a new schism, and were appalled at the result which seemed likely to follow from a Council assembled to promote the peace of Christendom. Congregations were suspended, and for six days the best men of both parties conferred together to see if an agreement were possible; but all was in vain, because men were swayed by personal passion and motives of self-interest, and the violence of party-spirit entirely obscured the actual subject under discussion. Every one acted regretfully and remorsefully, but with the feeling that he had now gone too far to go back. The die had already been cast;

Futile attempts at reconciliation. April, 1437.

[1] The document is given in Cecconi, No. CXVIII.: 'Cum jus et potestas hujus sacri concilii (quoad actum istum et dependentia ab eo) apud illos remaneat qui dicte cedule concordate et conclusioni ac determinationi hujus sacri concilii inniti volunt, et providere ne sacrum Concilium in suis promissis deficiat,' etc.

the defeat of the Council involved the ruin of every one who had till now upheld it; to retreat a hair's breadth meant failure. Conferences brought to light no common grounds; matters must take their course, and the two divisions of the Council must find by experience which was the stronger.[1]

Publication of conflicting decrees. May 7, 1437.

On May 7, a day which many wished never to dawn, the rival parties strove in a solemn session to decree, in the name of the Council, their contradictory resolutions. In the early morning the Cardinal of Arles, clad in full pontificals, took possession of the altar, and the cathedral was filled with armed men. The legates arrived later, and even at the last moment both sides spoke of concord. It was proposed that, in case the Greeks would not come to Basel, the Council be held at Bologna, and the fortresses be put in the hands of two representatives of each side. Three times the Cardinals of Arles and of S. Peter's stood at the altar on the point of making peace; but they could not agree on the choice of the two who were to hold the fortresses. At twelve o'clock there were cries that it was useless to waste more time. Mass was said, and the Bishop of Albienza mounted the pulpit to read the decree of the majority. The hymn 'Veni Creator,' which was the formal opening of the session, had begun; but it was silenced that again there might be negotiations for peace. All was in vain. The session opened, and the Bishop of Albienza began to read the decree. On the part of the minority the Bishop of Porto seized a secretary's table and began to read their decree, surrounded by a serried band of stalwart youths. One bishop shouted against the other, and the Cardinal of Arles stormed vainly, calling for order. The decree of the minority was shorter, and

[1] The state of feeling is vividly described in a letter of Æneas Sylvius to Piero da Noceto, dated May 20, 1437, in Mansi, xxxi., 220, etc. A few of his phrases are worth noting: 'Tanta inter majores vociferatio erat ut modestiores in taberna vinaria cernas bibulos'. 'Si meam petis sententiam paucissimos ex utraque parte numerarem quos credam sola moveri conscientia.' 'Apud quem sit veritas Deus noverit; ego non video neque si video scribere ausim.'

took less time in reading; as soon as it was finished the Papal party commenced the 'Te Deum'. When their decree was finished, the opposite party sang the 'Te Deum'. It was a scene of wild confusion in which violent partisans might triumph, but which filled with dismay and terror all who had any care for the future of the Church. Both parties felt the gravity of the crisis: both felt powerless to avert it. With faces pale from excitement, they saw a new schism declared in the Church.

Dispute about sealing the decrees. June, 1437.

Next day there was a contention about the seal of the Council, which Cesarini was found to have in his possession, and at first declined to give up. But the citizens of Basel insisted that it was their duty to see that the seal was kept in its proper place. On May 14 a compromise was made. The seal was put in custody of a commission of three, on condition that both decrees be sealed in secret; the Bull of the conciliar party was to be sent to Avignon, but not to be delivered till the money was paid by the citizens; if this was not done within thirty days the Bull was to be brought back; meanwhile the Bull of the Papal party was to remain in secret custody. Again there was peace for a while, which was broken on June 16 by the discovery that the box containing the conciliar seal had been tampered with, and the seal used by some unauthorised person. The discovery was kept secret, and the roads were watched to intercept any messengers to Italy. A man was taken bearing letters from the Archbishop of Taranto, which were produced before a general congregation. There was an outcry on both sides, one protesting against the seizure of the letters, the other against the false use of the Council's seal. Twelve judges were appointed to examine into the matter. The letters, which were partly in cipher, were read, and the case against the Archbishop of Taranto was made good. He was put under arrest, and when the matter was laid before the Council on June 21 there was an unseemly brawl, which ended in the use of violent means to prevent an appeal to the Pope being

lodged by the Archbishop's proctor. On July 19 the Archbishop, surrounded by an armed troop, made his escape from Basel and fled to the Pope.

Eugenius IV. fixes the Council in Italy. May 30, 1437.

The majority in the Council of Basel might pass what decrees they would, but they had reckoned too much on their power over the Greeks. The Papal legates won over the Greek ambassadors, and sent them to Eugenius IV. at Bologna. The Pope at once ratified the decree of the minority, fixed Florence or Udine as the seat of a future Council, and on May 30 issued a Bull to this effect. He wrote to all the princes of Christendom announcing his action. But Sigismund raised a protest against a Council being held in Italy, and the Duke of Milan strongly opposed the choice of Florence. Apparently wishing to avoid discussion for the present, Eugenius IV. prevailed on the Greeks to defer till their arrival on the Italian coast the exact choice of the place. The Greek ambassador, John Dissipatus, solemnly declared in the Emperor's name, that he recognised as the Council of Basel, to which he had formed obligations, only the party of the legates, and that he accepted the decree of the minority as being the true decree of the Council.[1] Eugenius IV. hired at his own expense four Venetian galleys to convey the Greeks to Italy. Preparations were made with all possible speed, and on September 3 the Bishops of Digne and Porto, representing the minority of the Council, and Garatoni, now Bishop of Coron, on the part of the Pope, arrived in Constantinople. Claiming to speak in the name of the Pope and of the Council, they at once began to make preparations for the journey of the Greeks to Italy.

The assembly at Basel could not make its arrangements with Avignon quickly enough to compete on equal terms with the Pope. It had to face the usual disadvantages of a democracy when contending against a centralised power. Its hope of success with the Greeks lay in per-

[1] Raynaldus, 1437, No. 13.

suading them that the Council, and not the Pope, represented the Western Church, and was strong in the support of the princes of Western Europe. It determined again to proceed to the personal humiliation of Eugenius IV., and so by assailing his power to render useless his dealings with the Greeks. On July 31 the Council issued a monition to Eugenius IV., setting forth that he did not loyally accept its decrees, that he endeavoured to set at nought its labours for the reformation of the Church, that he wasted the patrimony of the Holy See, and would not work with the Council in the matter of union with the Greeks; it summoned him to appear at Basel within sixty days, personally or by proctor, to answer to these charges. This admonition was the first overt act towards a fresh schism. Sigismund and the German ambassadors strongly opposed it on that ground, and besought the Council to recall it. It was clear that the Council would meet with little support if it proceeded to extremities against the Pope. But in its existing temper it listened to the ambassadors of the King of Aragon and the Duke of Milan, the political adversaries of Eugenius IV., and paid little heed to moderate counsels. On September 26 it annulled the nomination to the cardinalate by Eugenius of the Patriarch of Alexandria, as being opposed to the decree that during the Council no Cardinal should be nominated elsewhere than at Basel. It also annulled the decree of the minority on May 7, by whatever authority it might be upheld, and took under its own protection the Papal city of Avignon.

The Council summons Eugenius IV. to Basel. July 31, 1437.

In vain the Council tried to win over Sigismund to its side. Sigismund had gained by the submission of Bohemia all that he was likely to get from the Council. In Italian politics he had allied himself with Venice against his foe the Duke of Milan, and so was inclined to the Papal side. He wrote angrily to the Council on September 17, bidding them hold their hand in their process against the Pope. He reminded them that they had found the Church united by his long

The Council pronounces Eugenius IV. contumacious. October 1, 1437.

labour, and were acting in a way to cause a new schism. They had met to reform and pacify Christendom, and were on the way to do the very reverse; while wishing to unite the Greeks, they were engaged in dividing the Latins. If they did not cease from their seditious courses, he would be driven to undertake the defence of the Pope.[1] The Council was somewhat dismayed at this letter; but the bolder spirits took advantage of current suspicions, and declared it to be a forgery, written in Basel, by the same hands as had forged the Council's Bulls.[2] Passion outweighed prudence, and men felt that they had gone too far to withdraw; on October 1 the Council declared Eugenius IV. guilty of contumacy for not appearing to plead in answer to the charges brought against him.

On his side also Eugenius IV. was not idle. He accepted the challenge of the Council, and on September 18 issued a Bull decreeing its dissolution. In the Bull he set forth his desire to work with the Council for union with the Greeks; in spite of all he could do they chose Avignon, though such a choice was null and void as not being included in the agreement previously made with the Greeks. Still, in spite of the default of Avignon to fulfil the conditions it had promised, the Council persevered in its choice. The legates, the great majority of prelates, royal ambassadors, and theologians, who made up the saner part of the Council, protested against the legality of this choice, and chose Florence or Udine, and at the request of the Greeks he had accepted their choice. The turbulent spirits in the Council, consisting of a few prelates who were animated partly by personal ambition and partly were the political tools of the King of Aragon and the Duke of Milan, gathered a crowd of the lower clergy,

Eugenius IV. dissolves the Council. September 18, 1437.

[1] The summary of this letter is given by Patricius, in Hartzheim, v., 819.

[2] John of Segovia, 1027: 'Non defuere qui dicerent eam fuisse nedum immutatam sed scriptam Basilee, cognitamque fuisse manum scriptoris, proptereaque illum ex Basilea fugisse'.

and under the specious name of reformation resisted the Pope, in spite of the Emperor's remonstrances. To prevent scandals and to avoid further dissension, the Pope transferred the Council from Basel to Ferrara, which he fixed as the seat of an Ecumenical Council for the purpose of union with the Greeks. He allowed the fathers to remain at Basel for thirty days to end their dealings with the Bohemians; but if the Bohemians preferred to come to Ferrara, they should there have a friendly reception and full hearing.[1]

The Council on October 12 annulled the Bull of Eugenius, on the ground of the superiority of a General Council over a Pope, and prohibited all under pain of excommunication from attending the pretended Council at Ferrara. It warned Eugenius IV. that if he did not make amends within four months he would be suspended from his office, and that the Council would proceed to his deprivation.

The Greeks accept the Pope's terms. November, 1437.

Both Pope and Council had now done all they could to assert their superiority over each other. The first question was which of the two contending parties should gain the adhesion of the Greeks. The Papal envoys had arrived first at Constantinople, and their offers were best adapted to the convenience of the Greeks. When on October 4 the Avignonese galleys arrived off Constantinople with the envoys of the Council, the captain of the Papal galleys was with difficulty prevented from putting out to sea to oppose their landing. The Greek Emperor was perplexed by two embassies, each brandishing contradictory decrees, and each declaring that it alone represented the Council. Each party had come with excommunications ready prepared to launch against the other. This scandalous exhibition of discord, in the face of those whom both parties wished to unite to the Church, was only prevented by the pacific counsels of John of Ragusa, who had been for three years resident envoy of the Council in Constantinople, and had not been swallowed up by the

[1] The Bull is given in full in John of Segovia, p. 1033.

violent wave of party-feeling which had passed over Basel.[1] The Council's ambassadors proceeded at once to attack the claims of their opponents to be considered as the Council. They succeeded in reducing to great perplexity the luckless Emperor, who wanted union with the Latin Church as the price of military help from Western Europe, and only wished to find out to whom or what he was to be united. The Greeks were puzzled to decide whether the Pope would succeed in dissolving the Council, or the Council in deposing the Pope: they could not clearly see which side would have the political preponderance in the West. The two parties plied the Emperor in turn with their pleadings for a space of fifteen days. The Council had the advantage that the Greeks were already committed to an agreement with them. But the Papal party had diplomats who were adroit in clearing away difficulties.[2] The Greeks ultimately decided to go with them to Italy, and the Emperor exhorted the Council's envoys to peace and concord, and invited them to accompany him to Venice. They refused with cries of rage and loud protestations, and on November 2 departed for Basel.

Neutrality of Sigismund.

Now that the breach between Pope and Council was irreparable, and the Pope had won a diplomatic victory in his negotiations, both parties looked to Sigismund, who, however, refused to identify himself decidedly with either. He disapproved of the Pope's dissolution of the Council, from which he still expected some measures of ecclesiastical reform; on the other hand, he disapproved of the Council's proceedings against the Pope, which threatened a renewal of the schism.[3] Eugenius IV. had showed his willingness to conciliate Sigismund by allowing the Council in his Bull of dissolution to sit for

[1] See his relation to the Council of Basel in Cecconi, No. CLXXVIII., and also Mansi, *Concil.*, xxxi., 248.

[2] See the relation of the Bishop of Digne to Eugenius IV. and the Council of Ferrara, in Cecconi, No. CLXXXVIII.

[3] John of Segovia, 1060, gives the contents of a letter of Sigismund to the Council, dated October 20.

thirty days to conclude its business with Bohemia; or, if the Bohemians wished, he was willing to receive their representatives at Ferrara. This was important to Sigismund and to the Bohemians, as it showed that the Pope accepted all that had been done in reference to the Bohemian question, and was ready to adopt the Council's policy in this matter.

Sigismund in Prag. 1436.

Sigismund had indeed reason to be content with the results which he had won. His restoration to Bohemia had been accomplished, and he had organised a policy of reaction which seemed likely to be successful. On August 23, 1436, his entry into Prag had been like a triumphal procession. He lost no time in appointing new magistrates, all of them chosen from the extremely moderate party. The legates of the Council were always by his side to maintain the claims of the Church. Bishop Philibert of Coutances began a series of aggressions on the episcopal authority in Bohemia. He asserted his right to officiate in Rokycana's church without asking his permission; he held confirmations and consecrated altars and churches in virtue of his superior office as legate of the Council. The Bohemians, on their part, waited for the fulfilment of Sigismund's promises, and the knights refused to surrender the lands of the Church until they were satisfied. Sigismund was bound to write to the Council, urging the recognition of Rokycana as Archbishop of Prag; but he told the legates that he trusted the Council would find some good pretext for delay. 'I have promised,' he said, 'that till he dies I will hold no other than Rokycana as archbishop; but I believe that some of the Bohemians will kill him, and then I can have another archbishop.'[1] It is clear that Sigismund knew how to manage a reaction, knew the inevitable loss of popularity which a party leader suffers if he makes concessions and does not immediately gain success. Rokycana was looked upon as a traitor by the extreme party,

[1] John of Tours, *Registrum*, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 835.

and as a dangerous man by the moderate party. We are not surprised to find that in October rumours were rife of a conspiracy organised in Rokycana's house against the Emperor and the legates. Inquiries were made, and without being directly accused Rokycana was driven to defend himself, and then his defence was declared to be in itself suspicious.[1]

Position of Rokycana.

Rokycana seems to have felt his position becoming daily more insecure. On October 24 he paid his first visit to the legates to try and find out their views about the confirmation of his title of archbishop. The legates received him haughtily, and talked about the restoration of various points of ritual which the Bohemians had cast aside. 'You talk only about trifles,' said Rokycana impatiently; 'more serious matters need your care.' 'You say truly,' exclaimed John of Palomar, with passion; 'there are more serious matters: for you deceive the people, and can no more give them absolution than this stick, for you have not the power of the keys, seeing you have no apostolic mission.' This bold onslaught staggered Rokycana, who repeated the words of Palomar in amazement, and said that the people would be indignant at hearing them; he would consult his fellow-priests. One of his followers warned the legates that they and the Emperor were becoming unpopular through their refusal to confirm Rokycana's election as archbishop. Rokycana withdrew with a bitter feeling of helplessness.

Sigismund and the Council's envoys. November, 1436.

The legates on November 8 pressed the Emperor to take further measures for the Catholic restoration. They had now been two months in Bohemia, they urged, and little had been done. The Communion was given to children, the Epistle and Gospel were read in Bohemian and not in Latin, the use of holy water and the kiss of peace was not restored, and toleration was

[1] John of Tours, p. 836: 'Rokssana vero longa oratione, cum non accusaretur, se excusavit et sub gravissimo anathemate de illis conventiculis; unde mirabantur multi, scientes non esse vera quæ dicebat',

not given to those who communicated under one kind. All this was contrary to the observance of the Compacts, and the kingdom of Bohemia was still infected with the heresy of Wyclif. Sigismund angrily answered, 'I was once a prisoner in Hungary, and save then I never was so wearied as I am now; indeed, my present captivity seems likely to be longer'. He begged the legates to be patient till the meeting of the Diet. He was engaged in treating with Tabor and Königgratz, which were still opposed to him, and he needed time to overcome their resistance. Tabor agreed to submit its differences to arbitration; Königgratz was reduced by arms.

Progress of the Catholic reaction in Bohemia. November, 1436—June, 1437.

On November 27 the legates and Rokycana came to a conference on the disputed points in the Emperor's presence. Rokycana demanded the clear and undoubted confirmation of the Compacts; the legates the re-establishment of the Catholic ritual. There were many difficulties raised and much discussion; but Rokycana found himself abandoned by the masters of the University, and opposed by the city magistrates and the nobles. He gave way unwillingly on all the points raised by the legates except the Communion of children and the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in Bohemian. On December 23 the Catholic ritual was restored in all the churches in Prag; the use of holy water and the kiss of peace was resumed, and images which had been cast down were again set up in their former places. Still, Bishop Philibert abode in Prag, and exercised the office of Bishop. On February 11, 1437, the Empress Barbara was crowned Queen of Bohemia by Philibert, and Rokycana was not even bidden to the ceremony.

On February 13 the legates at last received from the Council the Bull of ratification of the Compacts of Iglau. Together with it came an admonition to the Emperor not to tolerate the Communion of children. He was urged also to restore the Catholic ritual throughout Bohemia, and to hand over to the Council Peter Payne, who maintained the

Wyclifite doctrine that the substance of bread remained in the Eucharist. When the ratification was shown to Rokycana, he demanded that there should also be issued a letter to the princes of Christendom freeing Bohemia from all charge of heresy. He brought forward also the old complaint that many priests refused to give the sacrament under both kinds; he demanded that the legates should order them to do so, should enjoin the bishops to see that the clergy obeyed their command, and should request the Bishop of Olmütz himself to administer under both kinds. The legates answered that the letter clearing the Bohemians had already been issued at Iglau; for the future the Bohemians, by observing the Compacts, would purge themselves in the eyes of all men better than any letter could do it for them. To the other part of his request they answered that they would admonish any priest who was proved to have refused the Communion under both kinds to any one who desired it; they could not ask the Bishop of Olmütz to administer the Communion himself, but only to appoint priests who were ready to do so. This was the utmost that Rokycana could procure, in spite of repeated renewal of his complaints.

The reaction went on with increasing strength. The rest of Bohemia followed the example of Prag, and restored the Catholic ritual. Sigismund set up again in the Cathedral of Prag the old capitular foundation with all its splendour. The monks began to return to Prag; relics of the saints were again exposed for popular adoration. In this state of affairs representatives of Bohemia were summoned to Basel to discuss further the question of the necessity or expediency of receiving the Communion under both kinds. Sigismund, wishing to rid himself of Rokycana, urged him to go. Rokycana steadily refused, knowing that at Basel he would only meet with coldness, and that during his absence from Prag the triumph of the reaction would be assured. On April 7, Procopius of Pilsen, in the Emperor's presence, bade Rokycana remember that he had been the

leader in former negotiations with the Council. 'You are experienced in the matter,' he said; 'you have no right to refuse.' 'Procopius,' said Rokycana, forgetting where he was, 'remember how our party fared at Constance; we might fare in like manner, for I know that I am accused and hated at Basel.' 'Think you,' said Sigismund angrily, 'that for you or for this city I would do anything against mine honour?'[1] It was so long since Sigismund had broken his plighted word to Hus that he had forgotten that it was even possible for others to remember it.

Rokycana driven from Prag. June, 1437.

Though Rokycana stayed in Prag, he was systematically set aside in ecclesiastical matters. On April 12 Bishop Philibert appointed rural deans throughout Bohemia, and charged them how to carry out their duties; Rokycana was not even consulted. The church in which Rokycana preached was given to the Rector of the University, who was inducted by the legate. Peter Payne was banished by Sigismund from Bohemia as a heretic, and an opportunity against Rokycana was eagerly looked for. This was given by a sermon preached on May 5, about the Communion of children, in which he said that to give up this practice would be a confession of previous error and of present instability of purpose. 'Too many now condemn what once they praised. But you, poor children, lament. What have you done amiss that you should be deprived of the Communion? Who will answer for you? Who will defend you? Now no one heeds.' Mothers lifted their voices, and wept over the wrongs of their children, and that was judged sufficient to establish against Rokycana a charge of inciting the people to sedition. The Diet demanded that some steps should be taken to administer the archbishopric of Prag; and Sigismund's influence with the moderate party was strong enough to obtain on June 11 the election of Christiann of Prachatic to the office of Vicar of the Archbishopric. Rokycana on being asked to surrender

[1] John of Tours, 860.

the seal and submit to Christiann as his spiritual superior, judged it wise to flee from Prag on June 16.

The exile of Rokycana was the triumph of the moderate party, the Utraquists pure and simple, who wished for entire union with the Church, but who were still staunch in upholding the principles of a reformed Church for Bohemia. Envoys were sent off to Basel to end the work of reconciliation and settle the points which still were disputed. On August 18 the envoys, chief amongst whom were the priests John Pribram and Procopius of Pilsen, entered Basel with great magnificence. Pribram in his first speech to the Council demanded that the Communion under both kinds should be fully granted, not only in Bohemia and Moravia, but universally, seeing that it was the truth of God's law. Pribram and John of Palomar argued learnedly for many days on the subject; but Pribram felt that he met with little attention from the Council. One day he angrily met the suspicious coolness which surrounded him by declaring that the Bohemians had never been heretical, but had always remained in the unity of the faith; if any one said otherwise, they were ready to answer with their steel as they had done in past days.[1] When Pribram had ended his disputation, Procopius of Pilsen advocated the Communion of children with no better success.

Bohemian envoys in Basel. August, 1437.

At last, on October 20, the Bohemians submitted nine demands to the Council, which deserve mention as showing the ultimate point arrived at by these long negotiations. (1) That the Communion under both kinds be granted to Bohemia and Moravia; (2) that the Council declare this concession to be more than a mere permission given for the purpose of avoiding further mischief; (3) that the Church of Prag be provided with an archbishop and two suffragans, who should be approved by

Demands of the Bohemians. October 1, 1437.

[1] 'Si quis vellet dicere contra, ipsi darent ferrea responsa, glorianter mencionando quas sibi dicebant contra eos impugnantes de celo concessas victorias.'—John of Segovia, 1066.

the realm; (4) that the Council issue letters clearing the good name of Bohemia; (5) that in deciding whether the Communion under both kinds be of necessary precept or not, the Council adhere to the authorities mentioned in the Compact of Eger, the law of God, the practice of Christ and the Apostles, general councils and doctors founded on the law of God; (6) that the Communion of children be allowed; (7) that at least the Epistle, Gospel, and Creed in the mass service be said in the vulgar tongue; (8) that the University of Prag be reformed and have some prebends and benefices attached to it; (9) that the Council proceed to the effectual reformation of the Church in head and members. Pribram besought that these be granted, especially the Gospel truth concerning the Sacrament. 'The kingdom of Bohemia is ready,' he added, 'as experience has shown, to defend and assert this even by thousands of deaths.' Great was the indignation of the Bohemians when, on November 6, Cesarini exhorted them to conform to the ritual of the universal Church as regarded the Communion of the laity under one kind only; still, he added, the Council was willing to stand by the Compacts.

Refusal of their demands by the Council.

Cesarini had gone too far in thus openly showing the policy of the Council to reduce the Bohemians to accept again the Catholic ritual. It required some management on the part of other members of the Council to allay their indignation. On November 24 the Council gave a formal answer to the Bohemian requests. As regarded the necessity of the Communion under both kinds the point had now been argued fully; it only remained for them to join with the Council and accept its declaration on the subject as inspired by the Holy Ghost. Their other points had either been already settled by the Compacts or were favours which might afterwards be discussed by the Council. This was of course equivalent to a refusal to grant anything beyond the bare letter of the Compacts. The Bohemian moderates saw themselves entirely deceived in their hopes of obtaining universal

tolerance for their beliefs. The Council would grant nothing more than a special favour to Bohemia and Moravia to continue to use the ritual which they had adopted, until such time as it could safely be prohibited. In vain the Bohemians asked that at least they should not be sent away entirely empty-handed, lest it be a cause of fresh disturbances. They could get no better answer, and left Basel on November 29. In spite of Cesarini's remonstrance against the imprudence of such a step, the Council on December 23 issued a decree that the Communion under both kinds was not a precept of Christ, but the Church could order the method of its reception as reverence and the salvation of the faithful seemed to require. The custom of communicating under one kind only has been reasonably introduced by the Church and was to be regarded as the law, nor might it be changed without the Church's authority.

In Bohemia the disappointment of the expectations which the great mass of the people still retained caused growing irritation, and seemed likely to lead to a fresh outbreak. Moreover, Sigismund's declining health gave an occasion to the ambitious schemes of those of his own household. Sigismund had no son, but his only daughter was married to Albert of Austria; and the fondest wish of Sigismund's declining years was that Albert should succeed to all his dignities and possessions. But the Empress Barbara had already tasted the sweets of power and was unwilling to retire into obscurity. She and her relatives, the Counts of Cilly, raised up a party among the Bohemian barons with the object of elevating Ladislas of Poland to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, and marrying him, though still a youth, to Barbara, in her fifty-fourth year.[1] Sigismund discovered this plot and felt the

Death of Sigismund. December 9, 1437.

[1] Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, iii., pt. 3, 282, throws doubt upon this assertion of Æneas Sylvius (*Hist. Bohem.*, ch. lii.), and there can be no question that Æneas has drawn a picture of Barbara which is exaggerated through his dislike to the family of Cilly. Still Windeck's account of Sigismund's last commands to his nobles makes the same assertion: 'das sie denne die kaiserynne sein frauen behilten bis das Herzog Albrechte in das königreich keme, oder sie wurden den könig von Polande nemen und in das königreich zihen,' in Mencken, i., 1278.

danger of his position. He was seized with erysipelas, and had to submit to the amputation of his big toe. His one desire was to quit Bohemia and secure Albert's succession in Hungary. Concealing his knowledge of what was passing around him, he left Prag on November 11, borne in an open litter and dressed in the imperial robes. He was accompanied by the Empress and the Count of Cilly, and on November 21 reached Znaym, where Albert and his wife Elizabeth awaited him. There he ordered Barbara to be imprisoned, but the Count of Cilly had timely warning and escaped. At Znaym Sigismund summoned to his presence several of the chief barons of Bohemia and Hungary, and urged on them the advantages to be gained by uniting both lands under one rule; he warmly recommended to their support the claims of Albert. This was his last effort. Feeling his malady grow worse, he was true to the last to that love of dramatic effect which was so strong a feature of his character. He wished to die like an emperor. Attired in the imperial robes, with his crown on his head, he heard mass on the morning of December 9. When mass was over he ordered grave clothes to be put on over the imperial vesture, and sitting on his throne awaited death, which overtook him in the evening. He was left seated for three days according to his command, 'that men might see that the lord of all the world was dead and gone'.[1] Then his corpse was carried to Grosswardein and buried in the resting-place of the Hungarian kings.

Character of Sigismund.

The facile pen of Æneas Sylvius gives us the following vigorous description of Sigismund: 'He was tall, with bright eyes, broad forehead, pleasantly rosy cheeks, and a long thick beard. He had a large mind and formed many plans, but was changeable. He was witty in conversation, given to wine and women, and thousands of love intrigues are laid to his charge. He was

[1] Windeck, as above, 'so sollte man in stehen lassen zwen tag oder drei tage, dass alle mon in sehen möchte, dass aller der welde herre tot und gestorben were'.

prone to anger, but ready to forgive. He could not keep his money, but spent it lavishly. He made more promises than he kept, and often deceived.'[1] These words are a fair representation of the impression produced on his contemporaries by this mighty 'lord of all the world'. With all his faults, and they were many, on the whole men loved and esteemed him.

No doubt vanity was the leading feature of Sigismund's character; but it was the dignified vanity of always seeming to act worthily of his high position. He would have been ludicrous with his dramatic strut had not his geniality and keenness of wit imposed on those who came in his way, and so saved him from hopeless absurdity. It is easy to mock at Sigismund's undertakings, at his pretensions as compared with the results which he achieved; but it is impossible not to feel some sympathy even for the weaknesses of an Emperor who strove to realise the waning idea of the empire, and whose labours were honestly directed to the promotion of the peace and union of Christendom. Sigismund possessed in perfection all the lesser arts of sovereignty; kindly, affable, and ready in speech, he could hold his own amidst any surroundings. His schemes, however chimerical they might seem, were founded on a large sympathy with the desires and needs of Europe as a whole. He laboured for the unity of Christendom, the restoration of European peace, and the reformation of the Church. Even when he spoke of combining Europe in a crusade against the Turks, his aim, however chimerical, was proved by the result to be right. But Sigismund had not the patience nor the wisdom to begin his work from the beginning. He had not the self-restraint to husband his resources; to undertake first the small questions which concerned the kingdoms under his

[1] From a Vatican MS. published in Palacky's *Italienische Reise* (Prag, 1838), p. 113: 'Fuit autem Sigismundus egregiæ staturæ, illustribus oculis, fronte spaciosa, genis ad gratiam rubescentibus, barba prolixa et copiosa, vasto animo, multivolus, inconstans tamen, sermone facetus, vini cupidus, in Venerem ardens, mille adulteriis criminosus, pronus ad iram, facilis ad veniam, nullius thesauri custos, prodigus dispensator; plura promisit quam servavit, finxit multa'.

immediate sway, to aim only at one object at a time, and secure each step before advancing to the next. Relying on his position, he caught at every occasion of displaying his own importance, and his vanity led him to trust that he would succeed by means of empty display. Hence his plans hampered one another. He destroyed his position at the Council of Constance by a change of political attitude resulting from a futile attempt to bring about peace between England and France. He induced Bohemia to think that its religious interests were safe in his keeping, and then trusted to repress its religious movement by the help of the Council of Constance. When he had driven Bohemia to revolt, he oscillated between a policy of conciliation and one of repression till matters had passed beyond his control. He lost his command of the Council of Basel because he entered into relations with the Pope, who was bent upon its overthrow. His schemes of ecclesiastical reform slipped from his grasp, and after spending his early years in extinguishing one schism, he lived to see the beginning of another. Few men with such wise plans and such good intentions have so conspicuously failed.

Cesarini leaves Basel. January 9, 1438.

The death of Sigismund removed the only man who might have averted an open outbreak between Eugenius IV. and the Council of Basel. Both sides now proceeded to extremities. On December 30 Eugenius IV. published a Bull declaring the Council to be transferred from Basel to Ferrara. At Basel Cesarini made one last attempt to bring back peace to the distracted Church. On December 20, in an eloquent speech breathing the true spirit of Christian statesmanship, he pointed out the evils that would follow from a schism. Farewell to all hopes of a real union with the Greeks, of real missionary enterprise against the Mohammedans, who were the serious danger to Christendom. He besought the Council, ere it was too late, to recall its admonition to the Pope, provided he would recall his translation of the Council: then let them send envoys to meet the Greeks on their arrival in Italy, and propose to

them to come to Basel, Avignon, or Savoy—failing that, let them frankly join with the Pope and the Greeks in the choice of a place which would suit all parties. He offered himself as ready to do his utmost to mediate for such a result.[1] But Cesarini spoke to deaf ears. The control of the Council had passed entirely into the hands of Cardinal d'Allemand, who was committed to a policy of war to the bitter end. A ponderous reply to Cesarini was prepared by the Archbishop of Palermo, a mass of juristic subtilties which dealt with everything except the great point at issue.

Cesarini saw the entire disappointment of the hopes which six years before had been so strong in his breast at the opening of the Council. He had longed for peace and reform; he saw, instead, discord and self-seeking. The Council, which ought to have promoted the welfare of Christendom, had become an engine of political attack upon the Papacy. The noble, generous, and large-minded aims of Cesarini had long been forgotten at Basel. The reformation which he projected had passed into revolution, which he could no longer control nor moderate. He shared the fate of many other reformers at many times of the world's history. The movement which he had awakened passed into violent hands, and the end of his labours for peace and order was anarchy and discord. With a sad heart he confessed his failure, and on January 9, 1438, he left Basel amid demonstrations of respect from his opponents. At the request of the Pope and all the Cardinals he went to Florence, where he was received with honour and lived for a time in quietness and study.

At Basel Cardinal d'Allemand was appointed president in Cesarini's stead. The Council on January 24 took the next step in its process against Eugenius IV. It decreed that, as he had not appeared to plead within the appointed time, he was thenceforth suspended from his office; meanwhile the administration

Suspension of Eugenius IV. by the Council. January 24, 1438.

[1] The speech is given in full by John of Segovia, 1114.

of the Papacy belonged to the Council, and all acts done by Eugenius were null and void. Sixteen bishops were present at this session, of whom nine were Savoyards, six Aragonese, and one Frenchman. Of the eighteen abbots who were there, eleven were Aragonese and six were Savoyards. The Council was, in fact, supported only by the King of Aragon and the Dukes of Milan and Savoy. The Duke of Savoy hoped to use it for his personal aggrandisement. The King of Aragon and the Duke of Milan saw in it a means of forcing Eugenius IV. into subserviency to their political schemes in Italy. Neither of them was prepared to support the deposition of the Pope, but they wished the process against him to be a perpetual threat hanging over his head.[1] The rest of the European powers looked with disapproval, more or less strongly expressed, on the proceedings of the Council. Henry VI. of England wrote a letter addressed to the *Congregation* (not the Council) of Basel, in which he reproved them for presuming to judge the Pope, denounced them for bringing back the times of Antichrist, and bade them desist from the process against Eugenius.[2] Charles VII. of France wrote to the Council to stay its measures against the Pope, and wrote to the Pope to withdraw his decrees against the Council; he forbade his bishops to attend the Council of Ferrara, but allowed individuals to act as they pleased at Basel. His purpose was to regulate ecclesiastical matters in France at his own pleasure. In Germany, Sigismund's policy of mediation survived after his death; men wished to avoid a schism, but to obtain through the Council some measures of reform. The Kings of Castile and Portugal and the Duke of Burgundy all admonished the Council to withdraw from their proceedings against Eugenius.

[1] Patricius, in Hartzheim, v., 824: 'Tandem post multos tractatus Philippus dux, qui suspensionem Eugenii postulaverat, nunc aperte Basileensibus ostendit, non sibi placere ulterius contra Eugenium procedi'.

[2] Patricius, in Hartzheim, v., 827.

The quarrel of the Pope and the Council now ceased to attract the attention of Europe; it had degenerated into a squabble in which both parties were regarded with something approaching contempt. But this condition of affairs was full of danger to the future of the organisation of the Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

EUGENIUS IV. IN FLORENCE, AND THE UNION OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

1434—1439.

Since his flight from Rome in 1434, Eugenius IV. has merely appeared as offering such resistance as he could to the growing pretensions of the Council. During the four years that had passed from that time he had been quietly gaining strength and importance in Italy. True to her old traditions, Florence graciously received the exiled Pope; and under the shadow of her protection, Eugenius IV., like his predecessor Martin V., had been able to recruit his shattered forces and again re-establish his political position.

Eugenius IV. and Florentine affairs. 1434.

At first his evil genius seemed still to pursue Eugenius IV., and he played a somewhat ignominious part in Florentine affairs. The time when he arrived in Florence was a great crisis in Florentine history. The prudent conduct of Giovanni de' Medici had preserved the internal peace of Florence by carefully maintaining a balance between the aristocratic and popular parties in the city. But between his son Cosimo and his political rival Rinaldo degli Albizzi a bitter hostility gradually grew up which could only end in the supremacy of the one or the other party. The first step was taken by Rinaldo, who, in September, 1433, filled the city with his adherents; Cosimo was taken unawares, was accused of treason, cast into prison, and only by a skilful use of his money succeeded in escaping death. He went

as an exile to Venice; but his partisans were strong in Florence, the city was divided, and a reaction in his favour set in. It was clear that the new magistrates who came into office on September 1, 1434, would recall him from banishment, and Rinaldo and his party were prepared to offer forcible resistance. On September 26 Florence was in a ferment, and Rinaldo degli Albizzi, with 800 armed men, held the Palace of the Podestà and the streets which led to the Piazza. Eugenius IV. in this condition of affairs offered his services as mediator. He sent Giovanni Vitelleschi, Bishop of Recanati, to Rinaldo, who, to the surprise of every one, was persuaded to leave his position and confer with the Pope at S. Maria Novella. It was one o'clock in the morning when he did so. What arguments the Pope may have used we do not know; but at five o'clock Rinaldo dismissed his armed men and remained peaceably with the Pope. Perhaps he was not sure of the fidelity of his adherents, and trusted that, by a show of submission, he might, with the Pope's help, obtain better terms than the doubtful chances of a conflict seemed to promise.

His enemies at once pursued the advantage thus offered to them. The Signori sent some of their number to thank the Pope for his good offices, and whatever may have been the first intention of Eugenius IV., he was soon won over to abandon Rinaldo. On October 2 the party of the Medici filled the Piazza and decreed the recall of Cosimo. Next day Rinaldo and his son were banished. The Pope attempted to console Rinaldo, and protested the uprightness of his own intentions and the pain which he felt at the failure of his mediation. 'Holy Father,' answered Rinaldo, 'I do not wonder at my ruin; I blame myself for believing that you, who have been driven out of your own country, could keep me in mine. He who trusts a priest's word is like a blind man without a guide.' Sadly Rinaldo left Florence for ever, and on October 6, Cosimo de' Medici returned in triumph amid shouts that hailed him father of his country. From that day forward for three hundred years the fortunes of

Florence were identified with those of the house of Medici.

In his abode at Florence things gradually began to take a better turn for Eugenius IV. The rebellious Romans, who had proudly sent their envoys to Basel announcing that they had recovered their liberties and that the days of Brutus had returned, began to find themselves in straits. The Papal troops still held the castle of S. Angelo and bombarded the town; their commander also by a stratagem took prisoners several of the Roman leaders. The people soon turned to thoughts of peace and submission, and on October 28 Giovanni Vitelleschi, at the head of the Pope's condottieri, took possession of the city in the Pope's name, and put to death the chief leaders of the rebellion. Moreover, Venice and the Pope renewed their league against the Duke of Milan, appointed Francesco Sforza as their general, and sent him against the Duke's condottiere general, Fortebracchio, who had occupied the neighbourhood of Rome. Fortebracchio was routed and slain, whereon the Duke of Milan found it advisable to come to terms. On August 10, 1435, peace was made, leaving Eugenius IV. master of the Patrimony of S. Peter and the Romagna, while Francesco Sforza obtained the lordship of the March of Ancona. The Duke of Milan also withdrew his aid from the rebellious Bologna, which on September 27 submitted to the Pope.[1] Even in Florence Eugenius IV. was not safe from the machinations of the Duke of Milan. A Roman adventurer, named Riccio, obtained the connivance of the Milanese ambassador at Florence, the Bishop of Novara, to a plot for seizing the person of Eugenius when he retired into the country before the summer heat. The city magistrates discovered the plot, and Riccio was tortured and put to death. The Bishop of Novara abjectly prayed for pardon from Eugenius; and the Pope granted his life to the entreaty of Cardinal Albergata,

Rome submits to Eugenius IV. October 28, 1434.

[1] *Cronica di Bologna*, Mur., xviii., 655. Blondus, *Dec.*, iii., 6.

who was just setting out as Papal legate to the Congress of Arras. Albergata took the Bishop of Novara to Basel, where he remained as one of the bitterest opponents of Eugenius IV.[1]

In another quarter the affairs of the kingdom of Naples afforded a scope for the activity of Eugenius IV. The feeble Queen Giovanna II. continued to the end of her reign to be the puppet of those around her. Even her chief favourite, Caraccioli, could not retain his hold upon her changeful mind. He saw his influence fail before the intrigues of the Queen's cousin, the Duchess of Suessa, who at length succeeded in obtaining the Queen's permission to proceed against her over-weening favourite. On August 17, 1432, Caraccioli celebrated magnificently his son's marriage; in the night a message was brought to him that the Queen was dying, and wished to see him. Hurriedly he rose, and opened his door to a band of conspirators, who rushed upon him and slew him on his bed.[2] Giovanna wept over his death, and pardoned those who wrought it. His mighty tomb in the Church of San Giovanni Carbonara is worthy of a more heroic character. Three knightly figures of Strength, Skill, and Justice bear the sarcophagus on which stands Caraccioli as a warrior. The tomb is in the vast style of the old Neapolitan work; but in its execution we see the delicacy of Tuscan feeling and the hand of Florentine artists. The way is already prepared for the later flow of the Renaissance motives into the rude regions of Naples.

Affairs of Naples. 1432-5.

On Caraccioli's death Louis of Anjou prepared to return to Naples; but the imperious Duchess of Suessa preferred to exercise undivided sway over her feeble mistress. The death of Louis, in November, 1434, awakened the activity of Alfonso of Aragon; but Giovanna II. would not recognise him as her heir, and made a will in favour of René, Count

[1] Blondus, *Decades*, 493.

[2] *Giornali Napoletani*, Mur., xxi., 1695; *Tristan Caraccioli* Mur., xxii., 35.

of Provence, the younger brother of Louis of Anjou. On February 2, 1435, Giovanna II. died, at the age of 65, worn out before her time; one of the worst and most incapable of rulers that ever disgraced a throne. On her death the inevitable strife of the parties of Anjou and Aragon again broke out. René claimed the throne by Giovanna's will, Alfonso of Aragon put forward Giovanna's previous adoption of himself, and the claims of the house of Aragon. But Eugenius IV. put forth also the claims of the Papacy. The Angevin line had originally come to Sicily at the Papal summons, and had received the kingdom as a papal fief. Eugenius IV. asserted that on the failure of the direct line in Giovanna II. the kingdom of Sicily devolved to the Pope. He appointed as his legate to administer the affairs of the kingdom Giovanni Vitelleschi, who had been created Patriarch of Alexandria. Little heed was paid to the Pope's claims. Alfonso's fleet vigorously besieged Gaeta, which was garrisoned by Genoese soldiers to protect their trade during the time of warfare. Genoa, at that time under the signory of the Duke of Milan, equipped a fleet to raise the siege of Gaeta, and on August 5 a battle was fought off the isle of Ponza, in which the Genoese were completely victorious. Alfonso and his two brothers, together with the chief barons of Aragon and Sicily, were taken prisoners.

Alfonso of Aragon and Filippo Maria Visconti. 1435.

Italy was shaken to its very foundations by the news of this victory, of which the Duke of Milan would reap the fruit. It seemed to give him the means of making himself supreme in Italian politics. But the jealous temper of Filippo Maria Visconti looked with distrust on this signal victory which Genoa had won. His first proceeding was to humble the pride of the city by depriving it of the glory of bringing home in triumph its illustrious captives. He ordered Alfonso and the rest to be sent from Savona to Milan, and on their arrival treated them with courtesy and respect. Alfonso's adventurous and varied life had given him large views of politics and great experience of men. He recognised the

gloomy and cautious spirit of Filippo Maria, who loved to form plans in secret, who trusted no one, but used his agents as checks one upon another. In the familiarity of friendly intercourse, Alfonso put before the Duke political considerations founded upon a foresight which was beyond the current conceptions of the day. 'If René of Anjou,' he argued, 'were to become King of Naples, he would do all he could to open communications with France, and for this purpose to establish the French power in Milan. If I were to become King of Naples I should have no enemies to dread save the French; and it would be my interest to live on good terms with Milan, which could at any moment open the way to my foes. The title of king would be mine, but the authority would be yours. With me at Naples you will remain a free prince; otherwise you will be between two strong powers, an object of suspicion and jealousy to both.'[1]

The state system of Italy was already so highly organised that arguments such as these weighed with the Duke of Milan, and he determined to forego all thoughts of present glory for future safety. Instead of treating Alfonso as a captive, he entered into an alliance with him, gave him his liberty and ordered Genoa to restore his captured ships. Alfonso was sufficiently keen-sighted to perceive, and Filippo Maria was sufficiently prudent to recognise, the danger that would arise to Italian independence from the centralisation of the French monarchy and the power of the house of Austria. They devised a scheme for neutralising this danger. The idea of a balance of power in Italy, founded on identity of interest between Milan and Naples, which was to keep Italy in peace and exclude all interference from beyond the Alps, began from this time forward to be a central point in Italian politics.

The immediate result of this policy was that Genoa, indignant at the slight thus cast upon her, revolted from

[1] Machiavelli, *Storia Fior.*, ch. v.

Milan, and joined the league of Florence, Venice, and the Pope. Eugenius IV., alarmed at the alliance between Alfonso and the Duke of Milan, withdrew his own claims on Naples, and espoused the cause of René, who was a prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy but was represented in Naples by his wife, Elizabeth of Lorraine. Neither she nor Alfonso had any resources at their command, and the war was carried on between the rival factions in the realm. We have seen that Alfonso was anxious to minimise the help which the Pope could give his rival, by supplying him with sufficient occupation in the affairs proceeding at Basel.

Italian affairs in 1436.

When Eugenius IV. had recruited his shattered fortunes by an abode of nearly two years in Florence, he left it for his own city of Bologna, on April 18, 1436. Before his departure he consecrated the stately Duomo of Florence, which had just received its crowning ornament of Brunelleschi's mighty dome, and was again ready for divine service. The city wished that the ceremonial should be befitting of its splendour. A scaffolding, adorned with carpets, was erected from S. Maria Novella to the Duomo, on which Eugenius IV. walked in state, the gonfaloniere of the city bearing his train.[1]

On April 22 Eugenius IV. entered Bologna with nine Cardinals, and was soon followed by two others from Basel. The Papal government of Bologna had not been such as to win the affections of the people. The legate, the Bishop of Concordia, had proclaimed a general pacification, on the strength of which Antonio de' Bentivogli, after fifteen years' exile, returned to the city which he had once ruled. He had not been there three weeks when he was seized as he left the chapel where the legate had been saying mass. He was gagged, and immediately beheaded by order of the Pope's Podestà, as was also Tommaso de' Zambeccari. The only reason

Eugenius IV. at Bologna. 1436-7.

[1] Ammirato, bk. xxi. Machiavelli, v.

assigned for this treacherous act was dread of the number of their followers.[1] The cruelty and tyranny of the Podestà made the Papal rule hateful in the city. Nor did Eugenius IV. do anything to mend this state of things. He was busied with his negotiations with the Council and with the Greeks. The only attention which he paid to the citizens of Bologna was to extort from them 30,000 ducats by holding out hopes of summoning his Council thither. When the citizens found themselves disappointed they looked with scarce concealed discontent on the Pope's departure for Ferrara on January 23, 1438. Scarcely had he gone when Niccoli Piccinino, the Duke of Milan's general, appeared before Bologna. On the night of May 20 the gates were opened to him by the citizens. Faenza, Imola, and Forlì joined in the revolt, and the greater part of Romagna was again lost to the Pope.

This was, however, of small moment to Eugenius IV. His attention was entirely fixed on the Council of Ferrara, through which he hoped to win back all that he had lost. The union of the Greek Church was to reinstate the Papacy in its position in the eyes of Europe; the Pope was again to appear as the leader of Christendom in a great crusade for the protection of Constantinople. It is a melancholy spectacle that is offered to our view. The Eastern Empire, with its splendid traditions of past glories, has sunk to be a catspaw in the ecclesiastical squabbles of the West. The trembling Greeks are ready to disavow their religious convictions to obtain help from their Western brethren. The States of Europe are so rent by intestine struggles, or are so bent upon purely selfish ends, that they are incapable of understanding the menace to European civilisation contained in the establishment of the Turks on this side of the Bosphorus. The Greeks cannot appeal to any feeling of European patriotism, or to any considerations of political wisdom. Only through the semblance of an

Attitude of the Greeks.

[1] *Cronica di Bologna*, Mur., xviii., 656.

ecclesiastical reconciliation can they hope to awaken any interest for their cause in Western Europe. At the last moment they see the Western Church itself distracted by contending parties; they engage desperately in a sacrifice of their convictions, which they half feel will avail them nothing.

Points in dispute between the Eastern and Western Churches.

The causes of the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches were national rather than religious. The beliefs and rites of the two Churches did not materially differ. But the political development of the East and West had been different. In the East, the Imperial autocracy had maintained and strengthened its power over the Church; in the West, where the Teutons had weakened the fabric of the Imperial system, the Pope, as supreme head of the Western Church, had won an independent position for his authority. It is true that the Greek view of Purgatory differed somewhat from that of the Latins, that they used leavened and not unleavened bread for the Host, and that they did not adopt the addition of the words 'and from the Son' (Filioque) to the clause of the Nicene Creed which defines the procession of the Holy Ghost. But no vital point was concerned in any of these differences. The real disagreement was that the Papacy strove to assert over the Eastern Church a supremacy which that Church was unwilling to admit. The ill-feeling created by the claim of Pope Nicolas I. in 863, to interfere as supreme judge in the question of the election of the Patriarch of Constantinople, simmered on till it produced a formal rupture in 1053, when Leo IX. at Hildebrand's suggestion excommunicated the Greek Patriarch. Round its ecclesiastical establishment the narrow spirit of Greek nationality centred, and the Greeks were ready in every sphere to assert their superiority to the barbarous Latins. In the time of their distress their pride was humbled if their minds were not convinced. They were ready to sacrifice the traditions of the past, which they still held firmly in their hearts, to the pressing need

for present aid. It is sad to see the feeble representatives of an ancient civilisation lowering themselves before the Papacy in its abasement.

On November 24, 1437, the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, his brother, the Patriarch, and twenty-two bishops, went on board the Papal galleys and set sail for Italy.[1] Though the Greeks journeyed at the Pope's expense, yet the Emperor, in his anxiety to display fitting magnificence, converted into money the treasures of the Church. An earthquake, which occurred at the time of his departure, was looked upon as an evil omen by the people who with heavy hearts saw the ships quit the harbour. After many perils and discomforts on the way, the Greeks reached Venice on February 8, 1438, and were magnificently received by the Doge, who went out to meet them in the 'Bucentaur,' which was decked with red carpets and awnings wrought with gold embroidery, while gold lions were standing on the prow. The rowers were clad in uniforms richly wrought with gold, and on their caps was embroidered the image of S. Mark. With the Doge came the Senate in twelve other splendid ships, and there was such a multitude of boats that the sea could scarce be seen. Amid the clang of trumpets the Emperor was escorted to the palace of the Marquis of Ferrara, near the Rialto, where he abode. The amazement of the Greeks at the splendour of Venice is the most striking testimony to the decay of their own noble city. 'Venice splendid and great,' says Phranza, 'truly wonderful, yea most wonderful, rich, variegated and golden, trimly built and adorned, worthy of a thousand praises, wise, yea most wise, so that one would not be wrong in calling it the second land of promise.'[2]

Arrival of the Greeks in Venice. February, 1438.

For twenty days the Greeks remained in Venice. The Doge offered them hospitality as long as they chose, and

[1] The account of the voyage given by Syropulus, sect. iv., chs. i.-x., is a varied and amusing description of a journey in the Mediterranean at that time. His impressions of Venice are also most valuable as a contribution to an idea of the splendour of the city.

[2] Phranza, *Chronicon Majus*, ii., § 185, ed. Migne.

advised them to see whether they could get better terms from the Pope or from the Council. There was not much difference of opinion on this point. Three only of the Greek prelates thought it desirable to wait; the Emperor's doubts, if he had any, were decided by the arrival of Cardinal Cesarini, who was the representative of that 'saner part' of the Council to which the Greeks professed to adhere. The stay of the Greeks in Venice was not without melancholy reflections. Wherever they turned they were reminded that the glory of Venice was in a measure due to the spoils of Constantinople. In the rich jewels which bedecked the colossal statue on the high altar of S. Mark's they saw the plunder of S. Sophia's.[1]

Arrival of the Greeks in Ferrara. March 7, 1438.

On February 28 the Emperor set sail for Ferrara. The Patriarch was sorely displeased at being left behind to follow in a few days. The Emperor disembarked at Francolino, where he was received by the Marquis of Ferrara and Cardinal Albergata as the Pope's legate. He entered the city on March 4, riding on a magnificent black charger beneath a canopy held by his attendants. He advanced into the courtyard of the Papal palace, where Eugenius IV. was seated with all his clergy. The Pope rose to greet the Emperor, who dismounted and advanced; Eugenius prevented him from kneeling and embraced him. Then he gave him his hand, which the Emperor kissed and took his seat on the Pope's left; they continued some time in friendly conference. The Patriarch, who was particular to keep close to his luggage, followed grumbling, and reached Ferrara on March 7. His good humour was not increased by a message from the Emperor, telling him that the Pope expected him to kiss his foot on his reception. This the Patriarch stoutly refused to do. 'I determined,' he said, 'if the Pope were older than me, to treat him as a father; if of the same age, as a brother; if

[1] Syropulus, IV., xvi.: *τοῖς μὲν κεκτημένοις καύχημα καὶ τέρψις ἐγγίγνεται, τοῖς δὲ ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν, εἴποτε καὶ παρατύχοιεν, ἀθυμία καὶ λύπη καὶ ατκήφεια, ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν τότε συνέβη.*

younger, as a son.' He added that he had hoped by the Pope's aid to free his Church from the tyranny of the Emperor, and could not subject it to the Pope. The negotiations respecting this knotty question occupied the entire day. At last the Pope, for the sake of peace, consented to waive his rights, provided the reception was in private, and only six of the Greek prelates were admitted at one time. On the evening of March 8, the Patriarch Joseph, an old man of venerable aspect, with white hair and a long white beard, of dignified bearing, and considerable experience of affairs, greeted the Pope in his palace.[1] The Pope rose and the Patriarch kissed his cheek, the inferior prelates his right hand. When the ceremony was over they were conducted to their lodgings.

Beginning of the Council of Ferrara. January, 1438.

The Council had been opened at Ferrara on January 5 by the Cardinal Albergata as Papal legate. Its first decree on January 10 was to confirm the translation of the Council from Basel to Ferrara, and to annul all that had been done at Basel since the Pope's Bull of translation. On January 27, the Pope entered Ferrara escorted by the Marquis Nicolas III. of Este. He took up his abode in the palace of the Marquis; and as he suffered grievously from gout, the citizens of Ferrara consulted his infirmity by erecting a wooden scaffold, communicating between the palace and the cathedral, so as to spare him the inconvenience of mounting steps.[2] On February 8 he presided over a congregation, and commended to its deliberation the work of union with the Greeks, and the repression of the excesses of those still remaining at Basel. The result of this deliberation was the issue of a Bull on February 15 annulling the proceedings of the Council of Basel, and declaring excommunicate all who did not quit

[1] Letter of John of Ragusa to Cesarini from Constantinople (Cecconi, *Docum.*, lxxviii.): 'Pater antiquus est, et sicut etas, canities, barba prolixa et effigies reddunt ipsum cunctis spectantibus venerabilem; ita sensus naturalis, experientia rerum et morum compositio reddunt ipsum cunctis secum familiariter conversantibus mirabilem'.

[2] Frizzi, *Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara*, iii., 430.

it within thirty days. Eugenius IV. had thus done all he could to affirm his dignity before the arrival of the Greeks.

Arrangements for the Council.

In like manner the first point of importance with the Greeks was to affirm their own dignity at Ferrara. The question that first called for solution was the arrangement of seats in the Council. Cesarini suggested that the Greeks should sit on one side of the cathedral, the Latins on the other, and the Pope in the middle as a link between the two parties. The Greeks bluntly answered that they needed no such link; but if a link were thought necessary it should be strengthened by the addition of the Greek Emperor and Patriarch to the Pope. Both sides fought to win prestige; but the Greeks were not fighting on equal terms. They were the Pope's stipendiaries in Ferrara, and the arrangement for supplying them with the stipulated allowances went on side by side with the negotiations about the knotty question of seats. The Pope at first proposed to supply the Greeks with food; this they resisted, and demanded an allowance in money. Ultimately the Pope gave way; it was agreed that the Marquis of Ferrara should furnish them with lodgings, and the Pope give the Emperor thirty florins a month, the Patriarch twenty-five, the prelates four, and the other attendants three. The Greeks accepted a compromise about seats. The Latins were to sit on one side, the Greeks on the other. The Pope's seat was highest, and was nearest the altar; next him was a vacant seat for the Western Emperor, opposite to which sat the Greek Emperor, and behind him the Patriarch. When the Patriarch wished to adorn his seat with curtains like the Papal throne, he was not allowed to do so. The Greeks murmured at this arrangement, but were obliged to submit. The Emperor exclaimed that the Latins were not aiming at order, but were gratifying their own pride.

Before appearing at the Council the Greek Emperor insisted that it should not be merely an assembly of the prelates, but also of the kings and princes of the West. The Pope was driven to admit that some time was necessary

before the princes could arrive. It was agreed that a delay of four months should take place to allow them to be duly summoned. Meanwhile a general session should be held to proclaim that the Council was to be held at Ferrara, and nowhere else.

Some time was spent in settling these matters. At last on April 9 a solemn session was held in the cathedral, 'a wonderful and awful sight,' says a Greek; 'so that the Church looked like heaven'.[1] The Pope and Papal retinue chanted the psalm, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel'. The Patriarch was too ill to be present; but a declaration of his consent to the Council was read in his absence. Then the decree convoking all to Ferrara within four months was read in Latin and Greek, and received the formal approval of both parties. After a few thanksgivings, the synod was dismissed.

The festivities of Easter occupied some time, and the Greeks were annoyed that they could not get a church in Ferrara for the celebration of their own services. The Pope referred them to the Bishop of Ferrara, who answered that all his churches were so crowded that he could not find one large enough for their purposes. One of the Greeks said that he could not worship in the Latin churches, as they were full of saints whom he did not recognise; even the Christ bore an inscription which he did not understand; he could only make the sign of the cross and adore that.[2] The tone of mind exhibited in these remarks did not augur well for any real agreement, nor did the Emperor wish the discussions to go too far. His plan was to defer matters as long as possible, to insist upon the Council being representative of the powers of Europe, to obtain from them substantial help against the Turks, and to go back to Constantinople having made as few concessions as were possible.

[1] *Acta Græca*, in Labbe, p. 21.

[2] Syropulus, 109: *ὅταν εἰς ναὸν εἰσέλθω λατίνων οὐ προσκυνῶ τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἁγίων, ἔπει οὔδε γνωρίζω τινά. τὸν Χριστὸν ἴσως μόνον γνωρίζω, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔκεινον προσκυνῶ δίοτι οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἐπιγράφεται, ἀλλὰ ποιῶ τὸν σταυρὸν μοῦ καὶ προσκυνῶ. τὸν σταυρὸν οὖν ὃν αὐτὸς ποιῶ προσκυνῶ καὶ οὐχ ἕτερον τὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε θεωρουμένων μοί.*

The Latins, however, were anxious to make their triumph complete. They urged that it was a useless waste of time to do nothing while they waited for the appearance of the European princes. Cesarini displayed his wonted tact in inviting the Greeks to dinner, and overcoming the reserve which the Emperor wished them to maintain. He succeeded in inducing one of the most stubborn of the Greek prelates, Mark of Ephesus, to publish his views in writing, to the great wrath of the Emperor. The Papal officers were remiss in the payment of allowances, and hinted that the Pope could not continue to pay men who would do nothing. By such means the Greeks were at last driven to agree to the appointment of ten commissioners on either side, who should engage in preliminary discussions upon the points of variance. Chief among the Greeks were Mark, Bishop of Ephesus, and Bessarion, Bishop of Nicæa; the Emperor ordered that they only should conduct the discussions. On the side of the Latins Cesarini took the leading part.

Conference on the doctrine of Purgatory. June, 1438.

The conferences began on June 4. The first question discussed was that of Purgatory, on which the real difference of opinion was not important. The Latins held that sins, not repented of during life, are purged away by purgatorial fire, which at the Day of Judgment is succeeded by everlasting fire for the reprobate. The Greeks admitted a Purgatory, but of pain and grief, not of fire, which they reserved as the means only of eternal punishment. Also the Greeks maintained that neither the punishment of the wicked nor the joy of the blessed was complete, till the general resurrection, seeing that before that time neither could receive their bodies. The Latins admitted that the punishment of the wicked could not be perfect till they had received their bodies, but held that the blessed, as souls, enjoy at present perfect happiness in heaven, though on receiving their bodies their happiness would become eternal. Even the most staunch upholder of the Greek doctrines, Mark of Ephesus, was driven to admit that there was not much difference between the Greek and the Latin

opinions on this question. When the discussion was ended, the Latins handed in their opinion in writing. The Greeks were timid in committing themselves. Each wrote his opinion and submitted it to the Emperor, who combined those of Bessarion and Mark, to the effect that the souls of the happy departed, as souls, enjoy perfect felicity, but when in the resurrection they receive their bodies they will be capable of more perfect happiness and will shine like the sun. On July 17 this statement was submitted to the Latins. The only result of these conferences was to bring into prominence the differences existing amongst the Greeks themselves. The narrow and bigoted spirit of old Byzantine conservatism, expressed by the rough outspoken Mark of Ephesus, did not harmonise with the cosmopolitan feeling of the polished Platonist Bessarion, who saw the decadence of the Greeks, and wished to bring his own ability into a larger sphere of literary and theological activity. The Latins learned that there were some amongst the Greeks who would bow, and some who must be driven, to consent to union.

Then came a pause till the four months' interval had elapsed for the fuller assembling of the Council. None of the European princes appeared, and the delay continued. Ferrara was attacked by the plague; some of the Greeks grew terrified or weary, and fled home. The Emperor requested the magistrates to keep guard over the gates, and forbade any of the Greeks to leave the city without his permission. The Emperor meanwhile spent his time in hunting in the woods round Ferrara, and paid no heed to the requests of the Marquis that he would spare his preserves, which had been stocked with great difficulty. The plague drove the Latins out of the city. Of a hundred and fifty prelates who were present at the first session, only five Cardinals and fifty bishops remained. The Greeks escaped the ravages of the plague, except only the household of the Russian archbishop.

It was some time before the Pope could obtain the Em-

peror's consent to a second session of the Council. The Greeks were suspicious; they were indignant at a rumour which had been spread that they were guilty of fifty-four heresies; they were afraid that, if they allowed the Council to proceed, they might be outvoted. Their fears on this last point were set at rest by an agreement that each party should vote separately. After that they could no longer resist the Pope's entreaties that the business of the Council should proceed.

The question of the procession of the Holy Ghost.

On October 8 the second session was held in the Pope's chapel, as Eugenius was unable to move through an attack of the gout. The Greeks had previously decided among themselves the question to be discussed. The more moderate party, headed by Bessarion, who was in favour of a real union if it were possible, wished to proceed at once to the important point which divided the two Churches, the double procession of the Holy Ghost. The Nicene Creed, which had been framed to define the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, dealt chiefly with the relation between the Father and the Son, and contented itself with the statement that 'the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father'. The continuance of controversy in the West led to the addition of the words 'and from the Son' (Filioque), an addition which the Greeks never made. The Western Church argued that the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone derogated from the dignity of the Son, who was equal with the Father in all points save only in His generation by the Father. The explanatory addition gradually became incorporated in the Creed. The greater metaphysical instinct of the Greeks led them to reject such an addition, which seemed to them dangerous, as tending to give a double origin to the Holy Ghost, and thereby to imperil the Unity in Trinity. There was no fundamental difference of opinion between the Greek and Latin fathers at first; but the genius of the Greek language admitted of finer distinctions than a Latin could comprehend. The Greeks were ready to allow that the Holy Ghost

proceeded from the Father *through* the Son, not that He proceeded from the Father *and* the Son. The difference was of little moment till the resentment of the Greek Patriarch against the Papal claims to supremacy led in the ninth century to an open rupture between the two Churches, and every shadow of difference was at once brought into prominence. Tomes of learning had been amassed on either side in support of their opinions on this point, and a molehill had been piled to the height of a mountain. It was felt that this question presented the greatest difficulty in settlement. Bessarion and his followers wished to discuss it at once. Mark of Ephesus, and those who were opposed to the union, succeeded in over-ruling them, and proposed the more dangerous preliminary question, 'Is it permissible to make any addition to a Creed?' Six disputants were chosen on either side: Bessarion, Mark, and Isidore of Russia were chief among the Greeks, Cardinals Cesarini and Albergata, and Andrea, Bishop of Rhodes, among the Latins.

The arguments were long and the speeches were many on both sides. The Fathers of Ferrara found, like the Fathers of Basel when dealing with the Bohemians, that a disputation led to little result. Speech was directed against speech; orator refuted orator. But amid the flow of words the central positions of the two parties remained the same. The Latins urged that the 'Filioque' was an explanation of the Nicene Creed in accordance with the belief of most of the Latin and Greek Fathers, notably S. Basil; the Greeks urged that it was not derived from the text of the Creed itself, but was an unauthorised addition, which gave a careless explanation of a doctrine needing careful definition. Through October and November the discussion rolled on. The monotony was only broken by the arrival of ambassadors from the Duke of Burgundy, who aroused the deepest indignation in the Greek Emperor by paying reverence to the Pope and not to himself. When they urged that they were commissioned only to the Pope and had letters to him alone, the Emperor was still more enraged and threatened

to leave the Council where he was subject to such slights. He could only be appeased by the solemn and public presentation of a letter forged by the ambassadors.[1]

The discussions were leading to no result. As a way of escaping from a mere strife of words, Cesarini besought that the real point of issue, the truth of the double procession of the Holy Ghost, be taken into consideration. If they were agreed that it was true, the addition of it to the Creed was of small moment. The majority of the Greek prelates were loth to enter upon a doctrinal discussion; but the rumours of a new Turkish attack on Constantinople made the Emperor more desirous for succours. He assembled his prelates and said that it was unworthy of them, after so many labours and so much trouble, to refuse to come to the point; their refusal in the present state of affairs would only give cause of triumph to the Latins. In vain the Patriarch urged that it was unwise to quit the safe position of the unlawfulness of an addition to the Creed. The Emperor succeeded in extorting from the discordant prelates a reluctant consent to the discussion of the doctrine.

Transference of the Council to Florence. January, 1439.

The Pope meanwhile had been pressing on the Emperor the necessity of transferring the Council from Ferrara to Florence. He pleaded that at Ferrara he could get no money to fulfil his agreement with the Greeks. Niccolo Piccinino was ravaging the neighbourhood so that no revenues could reach the Papal coffers; the plague had made Ferrara an unsafe place of residence; Florence had promised a large loan to the Pope, if he would again take refuge within its walls. Eugenius IV. was anxious to remove the Greeks further from their own land, to a place where they would be more entirely dependent on himself. The Greeks murmured, but their necessities gave them little option; as the Pope's stipendiaries they were bound to go where he could best find them rations. On

[1] These ludicrous proceedings are told by Syropulus, 176. The Emperor's attendants urged him at least to receive the forged letter in his own palace, but he insisted upon a public ceremony.

January 10, 1439, the last session was held at Ferrara and decreed the transference of the Council to Florence on the ground of the pestilence.

On January 16 Eugenius IV. left Ferrara for Florence; his journey was more like a flight before the troops of Piccinino than a papal progress. The sedentary Greeks were greatly wearied by the discomforts of a long journey across the Apennines in winter. The aged Patriarch especially suffered from the journey; but his vanity was gratified by the splendour of his reception in Florence, where he was met by two Cardinals, and amidst a blare of trumpets and the shouts of a vast multitude he was escorted to his lodgings. Three days after, on February 16, arrived the Emperor; but a storm of rain spoiled the magnificence of his reception, and scattered the crowd which came to give him the welcome that the Florentines, better than any others, could give to a distinguished guest.

Position of the Greek Emperor.

In Florence the Pope was determined to proceed more speedily with business than had been done at Ferrara. The Greek Emperor had by this time seen the actual position of affairs. He was obliged to submit to the failure of the expectations with which he had come to Italy. He had hoped to play off the Council of Basel against the Pope, and so secure good terms for himself; he found the Latins united and undisturbed by the proceedings of the fathers still remaining at Basel. He hoped that the Western princes would have assembled at the Council, and that he could have made the question of union secondary to a project for a crusade against the Turk; he found a purely ecclesiastical assembly which he could not divert from purely theological considerations. As he could not with dignity go back to Constantinople empty-handed, and as he sorely needed succours, he saw no other course open than to accept such terms of union as could be obtained, and trust afterwards to the generosity of Western Christendom. At Florence he used his influence to expedite matters, and fell in with the Pope's suggestions for this purpose.

Discussion resumed at Florence. February 29, 1439.

On February 26, a meeting took place at Florence in the Pope's palace, confined to forty members on each side. It was agreed to hold public disputations three times a week for three hours at least, and also to appoint committees on each side, who might confer privately about the union. The public sessions, which began on March 2, were really a long theological duel between John of Montenegro, a famous Dominican theologian, and Mark of Ephesus. Day after day their strife went wearily on, diversified only by disputes about the authenticity of manuscripts of S. Basil against Eunomius, whose words Mark of Ephesus was convicted of quoting from a garbled manuscript.[1] The argument turned on points verbal rather than real; each side could support its own opinion more easily than prove the error of its opponent. Even Mark of Ephesus was wearied of talking, and in a long speech on March 17 fired his last shot. John of Montenegro, on his part, made a statement which the partisans of union among the Greeks seized as a possible basis for future negotiation. He said explicitly that the Latins recognised the Father as the one cause of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. This was the only theological point involved in the two positions. The Emperor requested John to put his statement in writing, and laid it before his assembled prelates. He spoke of all his labours to bring about union,

[1] The question here raised is of great interest as throwing light upon the condition of ancient MSS. at the time. See the accounts given in *Acta Græca*, Labbe, xiii., 311, etc., by Andrea of Sante Croce (*ib.*, 1063, etc.); by S. Antoninus, *Chronicon*, tit. xxii., ch. xiii.; by Bessarion in his letter to Alexius Lascaris Philanthropicus (*Opera*, ed. Migne, p. 325). Bessarion's account is very copious on the point. The text of S. Basil was '*ἀξιώματι μὲν γὰρ δευτερεύειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάμβανον καὶ ἀνάγγελλον ἡμῖν, καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνης τῆς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον παραδίδωσιν ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος*'. There were six MSS. of S. Basil *contra Eunomium* at the Council, four on parchment, of which three belonged to the Archbishop of Mitylene, one to the Latins, and two on silk belonging to the Emperor and the Patriarch. All agreed save that of the Patriarch, which Mark quoted, and in which the words *καὶ ὅλως ἐκείνης τῆς αἰτίας ἐξημμένον* were omitted. '*τόδε ἓν μόνον*,' says Bessarion, '*τὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου δηλαδὴ, εἶχεν ἑτέρως, τινὸς περικοψάντος τὸ ῥητὸν, καὶ τὰ μὲν προσθέντος τὰ δ' ἀφελόντος.*'

and he urged them to accept this basis. The Greeks in truth were weary of the controversy; they longed to return home. The Patriarch grew feebler day by day; the Emperor grew more determined to see some fruits of all his trouble. A passage of a letter of S. Maximus, a Greek writer of the seventh century, was discovered by the Greeks, which agreed with the language of John of Montenegro. 'If the Latins will accept this,' exclaimed the partisans of the Union, 'what hinders us from agreement?' In an assembly of the Greek prelates the Emperor's will overbore all opposition except that of Mark and the Bishop of Heraclea. The letter of Maximus was submitted to the Latins as the basis for an agreement; meanwhile the public sessions were suspended.

John of Montenegro, however, was anxious to have his reply to the last onslaught of Mark of Ephesus. Another session was held on March 21 to gratify the vanity of the Latins; but the Emperor took the precaution of ordering Mark to absent himself. When thus bereft of an adversary and listened to in solemn silence, John of Montenegro talked himself out in two days. An understanding had now been established between the Pope and the Emperor; but the susceptibilities of the Greeks were still hard to manage. Public sessions, which only awakened vanity, were stopped. Committees composed of ardent partisans of the Union were nominated on both sides for the purpose of minimising the difficulties that still remained. Bessarion and Isidore of Russia among the Greeks strove their utmost to overcome the rigid conservatism of their fellow-countrymen. The Cardinals Cesarini and Capranica among the Latins laboured assiduously to secure the Papal triumph. Perpetual messages passed between the Pope and the Emperor. Documents were drawn up on both sides; proposals towards greater exactness of expression were put forward. Bessarion argued in a learned treatise that there was no real difference of meaning, when the Latins said that the Holy Ghost proceeded from (ἐξ) the Son, and the Greek

fathers wrote that He proceeded through (διὰ) the Son, if both agreed that there were not two causes, but one, of the procession, and that the Father and the Son formed one substance.

The Patriarch was lying on his death-bed. Bessarion and his party were resolute for the Union on large grounds of ecclesiastical statesmanship. Others of the Greeks, following the Emperor, were convinced of its practical necessity. They had gone so far that they could not draw back. They were willing to seek out expressions of double meaning, which might serve for a compromise.[1] Yet many of the Greeks held by the stubborn Mark of Ephesus, and would not give way. The discussion passed from being one between Greeks and Latins to one between two parties among the Greeks. Many were the fierce controversies, many the intrigues, great the anger of the Emperor, before an end was visible to these troublesome disputations. At last, on June 3, the Greeks agreed that, without departing from their ancient belief, they were ready to admit that the Holy Ghost proceeds *from* the Father and the Son as one cause and one substance, proceeds *through* the Son as the same nature and the same substance. Next day a schedule was drawn up, of which a copy was handed to the Emperor, the Pope, and the Patriarch: it ran: 'We agree with you, and assent that your addition to the Creed comes from the Fathers; we agree with it and unite with you, and say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one origin and cause'.

Matters had proceeded so far that the Emperor turned to business, and asked the Pope what succours he would grant. Eugenius IV. promised to supply 300 soldiers and two galleys for the constant defence of Constantinople; in time of need, twenty galleys for six months, or ten for a year.

[1] So says Mark of Ephesus (Migne, clix., p. 1076): περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἑνώσεως ἤρξαντο πραγματεύεσθαι, καί τινα ῥητὰ περιεργάζεσθαι δι' ὧν ἑνωθήσονται μέσην ἐπέχ οντα χώραν καὶ δυνάμενα κατ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς δόξας λαμβάνεσθαι.

He also undertook to preach a crusade and rouse the West for the defence of the Greeks. Satisfied with this promise, the Emperor hastened to bring matters to a conclusion. Mark of Ephesus was peremptorily ordered to hold his tongue, and he himself admits that he was not unwilling to be relieved from further responsibility in the matter.[1]

Death of the Patriarch. June 10, 1439.

But the sudden death of the Patriarch Joseph on the evening of June 10 seemed at first likely to put a stop to all further negotiations. The Greeks, bereft of their ecclesiastical head, might well urge that without his sanction all proceedings would be useless. Happily for Eugenius IV., there was found a paper subscribed by Joseph a few hours before his death, approving what seemed good to his spiritual sons, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman Church. The Patriarch was buried with due honours in the Church of S. Maria Novella, where the inscription on his tomb is the only memorial remaining to this day of the labours spent in uniting the Eastern and Western Churches.[2]

Discussions on minor points. June, 1439.

Fortified by the Patriarch's declaration, the Emperor urged on the completion of the work of union. The Pope submitted to the Greeks for their consideration the differences between the Churches concerning the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Purgatory, the Papal Primacy, the words used in consecration. The Pope had already laid before them a statement of the views which the Latins would be ready to

[1] Migne, clix., p. 1088: *ἔπεσχον καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γραφὴν ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν αὐτοὺς ἐρεθίσας εἰς προῦπτον ἤδη τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμαυτὸν ἐμβαλῶ.*

[2] It runs—

'Ecclesiæ Antistes fueram qui magnus Eoæ
Hic jaceo magnus religione Joseph,
Hoc unum optaram, miro inflammatus amore.
Unus ut Europæ cultus et una fides.
Italiam petii, fœdus percussimus unum;
Junctaque Romanæ est me duce Graia fides.
Nec mora, decubui; nunc me Florentia servat,
Qua tunc concilium floruit urbe sacrum.
Felix qui tanto donarer munere vivens,
Qui morerer voti compos et ipse mei.'

accept. The only question was that those who were in favour of the Union should win over the rest to accept the proffered terms. The subject of Purgatory had already been threshed out at Ferrara, and the difference was seen to be slight. A satisfactory form of agreement was soon found. It was laid down that those who died in sin went to eternal punishment, those who had been purged by penitence went to heaven and beheld the face of God, those who died in penitence before they had produced worthy fruits of penitence for their omissions and commissions went to Purgatory for purification by pains, and for them the prayers and alms of the faithful availed, as the Church ordained. The use of leavened or unleavened bread was a small point of ritual, on which the Latins could urge that their own custom of using unleavened bread was more in accordance with the facts of the institution of the Sacrament, as it was clear that at the time of the Passover Christ could only have unleavened bread. The Pope declared that, though the Latin Church used unleavened bread, the Sacrament might also be celebrated with leavened bread. The question was left open. As to the consecration of the elements, the Greeks were in the habit of using after the words of consecration a short prayer of S. Basil that the Spirit might make the bread and wine the Body and Blood of Christ. The Latins demanded that the Greeks should declare that the Sacrament was consecrated only by the words of Christ. The Greeks did not doubt the fact, but objected to the declaration as unnecessary. It was agreed that it should be made verbally, and not inserted in the Articles of Union.

Question of the Papal Supremacy.

So far all went smoothly enough; but the greatest difficulty arose about the Papal Supremacy. Up to this point the Greeks might flatter themselves that they had been making immaterial compromises or engaging in verbal explanations. Now they had to face the surrender of the independence of their Church. However true it might be that they must make some sacri-

fices to gain political consideration, the recognition of the Papal headship galled their pride to the quick. The Pope demanded that the Greeks should recognise him as the chief pontiff, successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ, and admit that he judged and ruled the Church as its teacher and shepherd. The Greeks requested that their own privileges should be reserved. There was a stormy discussion. At length the Greeks, on June 22, proposed to admit the Pope's Supremacy with two provisos: (1) That the Pope should not convoke a Council without the Emperor and Patriarch, though if they were summoned and did not come, the Council might still be held; (2) That in case an appeal were made to the Pope against a Patriarch, the Pope should send commissioners to investigate and decide on the spot without summoning the Patriarch to the Council. Next day the Pope answered roundly that he intended to keep all his prerogatives, that he had the power of summoning a Council when it was necessary, and that all Patriarchs were subject to his will. On receiving this answer the Emperor angrily said, 'See to our departure'. It seemed that the negotiations were to be broken off, and that the Greeks would not give way. But next day, June 24, being the festival of S. John Baptist, was given to religious ceremonies. The Greeks who had committed themselves to the Union, Bessarion, Isidore of Russia, and Dorotheus of Mitylene, spent the time in trying to arrange a compromise. Reflection brought greater calmness to the Emperor, and on June 26 Bessarion and his friends submitted a proposal couched in vaguer terms: 'We recognise the Pope as sovereign pontiff, vicegerent and vicar of Christ, shepherd and teacher of all Christians, ruler of the Church of God, saving the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East'. This was accepted by the Pope. Nothing now remained save to draw up in a general decree the various conclusions which had been reached. For this purpose a committee of twelve was appointed, which laboured for eight days at the task.

On July 4 the decree was finished. When it was taken to the Emperor he objected to the fact that it ran in the Pope's name, in the usual style of an ecclesiastical decree, and he insisted on the addition of the words—'with the consent of the most serene Emperor and Patriarch of Constantinople'. On July 5 it was signed separately by the Latins and the Greeks. It bears the signature of one hundred and fifteen Latin prelates and abbots, and of thirty-three Greek ecclesiastics, of whom eighteen were metropolitans. A great majority of the Greeks signed it unwillingly. Syropulus tells us of many machinations which were used to win their assent. On the one hand, the declared will of the Emperor drove the compliant to submission; on the other hand, Papal largess were doled out to the needy, and social cajoleries were heaped upon the vain. Mark of Ephesus, alone of those who were at Florence, had the courage of his opinions and refused to sign. He was too considerable a person to be intimidated by the Emperor, and too stubborn a conservative to be won over by the Pope. In spite, however, of the pathetic account of Syropulus, it is difficult to feel much sympathy with the reluctant Greeks. They knew, or they might have known, when they left their homes what they had to expect. It was a question of political expediency whether or not it was desirable in their imminent peril to abandon their attitude of isolation, and seek a place amid the nations of Western Christendom. If so, they must expect to make some sacrifice of their ancient independence, to overthrow some of the walls of partition which their conservatism had erected between themselves and the Latin Church. An acknowledgment of the Papal Supremacy was the necessary price for Papal aid. It was useless to appear as beggars and demand to retain all the privileges of independence. It was useless to advance so far on rational calculations of expediency, and to raise objections the moment that the actual pinch was felt by national vanity. The wisest heads among the

Acceptance of Union by the Greeks. July 5, 1439.

Greeks confessed that since the Greek Church was no longer the centre of a vigorous national life, it must conform in some degree to the Latin Church if the Greeks looked for aid to the Latin nations. Moreover, the circumstances of the time were such that the Pope was as anxious for the Union as were the Greeks themselves. The Latins were willing to accept vague conditions and to agree readily to compromises. The Greeks could not complain that they were hardly pressed in matters of detail.

Publication of the Decrees. July 6, 1439.

On July 6 the publication of the Decrees took place in the stately cathedral of Florence. The Greeks had at least the satisfaction of outdoing the Latins in the splendour of their vestments.[1] The Pope sang the mass. The Latin choir sang hymns of praise; but the Greeks thought their Gregorian music barbarous and inharmonious.[2] When they had ended the Greeks sang their hymns in turn. Cesarini read the Union Decree in Latin and Bessarion in Greek; then the two prelates embraced one another as a symbol of the act in which they had engaged. Next day the Greeks who had been spectators of the Latin mass asked that the Pope should in like manner be present at the celebration of their mass. They were told that the Pope was not certain what their mass was, and would like to see it performed privately before he committed himself to be present at a public ceremony. The Greeks refused to subject themselves to this supervision. The Emperor said indignantly that they had hoped to reform the Latins, but it seemed that the Latins only intended to reform them.

Departure of the Greeks. July, 1439.

The Greeks were now anxious to depart, but waited to receive from the Pope five months' arrears of their allowance. The Pope tried to raise some other questions for discussion, chief of which was divorce,

[1] Vespasiano Fiorentino in his Life of Eugenius says, 'I Greci con abiti di seta al modo Greco molto ricchi; e la maniera degli abiti Greci pareva assai più grave et più degna che quella de' prelati Latini'.

[2] ἡμῖν δὲ ὡς ἄσημοι ἐδοκοῦν φωναὶ ἐμμελεῖς, says Syropulus, p. 295.

which the Greek Church allowed, while the Latin Church did not. He suggested that they should at once proceed to the election of a Patriarch. The Emperor refused any further discussion, and said that they would proceed to elect a Patriarch on their return, according to their own customs. The Pope requested that Mark of Ephesus should be punished for his contumacy, but this also the Emperor wisely refused. To make assurance doubly sure, the Pope demanded that five copies of the Union Decree should be signed by the original signatories, one for the Greeks, the rest to be sent to the princes of Europe. The Greeks objected that this was unnecessary; at last, however, they agreed to sign four duplicates, on the understanding that no further difficulties were to be put in the way of their departure. On July 20 the Greek prelates began to quit Florence. The Emperor remained till August 26, when he made his way to Venice, and returned to Constantinople after an absence of two years.

Reception of the Union in Greece.

'Have you won a triumph over the Latins?' was the question eagerly asked of the returning prelates. 'We have made a satisfactory compromise,' was the general answer. 'We have become Azymites' (so the Latins were called by the Greeks because they used unleavened bread in the mass), 'we have become Azymites, and have betrayed our Creed,' said Mark of Ephesus, and the Greek people took his view of the matter. They were profoundly conservative, and though their leaders might see the necessity of departing from their national isolation, the people could not be induced to follow the new policy. The Greek prelates who at Florence had unwillingly accepted the Union could not stand against the popular prejudice, and by their excuses for what they had done only tended to inflame the popular wrath. Mark of Ephesus became a hero; the prelates who had wished for the Union were treated with contumely. The Emperor was powerless. The Bishop of Cyzicum, whom he made Patriarch, was looked upon with aversion as a traitor. When he gave the people his blessing

many of them turned away that they might not be defiled by one tainted with the leprosy of Latinism. The Emperor, finding that he could do nothing to abate the force of this popular feeling, adopted an attitude of indifference. The Pope supplied for the defence of Constantinople two galleys and 300 soldiers, as he had promised; but no great expedition was equipped by Europe against the Turks. The Emperor's brother, Demetrius, despot of Epirus, who had been with him in Italy, and had been a spectator of all that had there been done, actually ventured to raise a rebellion. He combined Turkish aid with the fanatical feeling of the extreme Greek party against the Latins, and for some time troubled his brother. The three Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria issued in 1443 an encyclical letter, in which they condemned the Council of Florence as a council of robbers, and declared the Patriarch of Constantinople a matricide and heretic.

General results of the Council of Florence.

Thus the Council of Florence was productive of no direct fruits. The Popes did not succeed in establishing their supremacy over the Greek Church; the Greeks got no substantial aid from Western Christendom to enable them to drive away their Turkish assailants. Yet the Council of Florence was not utterly useless. The meeting of two different civilisations and schools of thought gave a decided impulse to the literary world of Italy, and attracted thither some of the leaders of Greek letters. It was not long before Gemistus Pletho took up his abode at Florence, and Bessarion became a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Greek letters found a home in the West; and when the impending destruction at last fell upon Constantinople, the Greek exiles found a refuge prepared for them by their fellow-countrymen.

To Eugenius IV. and to the Papacy the Council of Florence rendered a signal service. However slight its ultimate results might be, it was the first event since the outbreak of the Schism which restored the ruined prestige of the Papacy. Public opinion is naturally influenced chiefly by accom-

plished facts. No one could judge of the permanence of the work, but all were in some measure impressed by a new sense of the Papal dignity when they heard that, downcast as he was, Eugenius IV. had still succeeded in healing the schism which had so long rent asunder the Christian Church. The Pope whose name was loaded with obloquy at Basel had been accepted as supreme at Constantinople. The power which was hard pressed at Rome still had sufficient vigour to win new conquests abroad. With lofty exultation Eugenius IV. wrote to the prince of Christendom, and announced the success of his efforts. He recapitulated his labours in this holy cause, carried on in spite of many discouragements, because he knew that only in Italy, and only in the presence of the Pope, could this great result be obtained.[1] It was a home thrust which the fathers of Basel would find it hard to parry.

The Council of Florence was felt to be a triumph of Papal diplomacy. The prospect of it had drawn from Basel all men possessed of any moderation. The Italians saw in it the means of reasserting their hold on the headship of the Church, which the transalpine nations had begun to threaten. In union with the Greeks, they saw the beginning of a new epoch of crusades, in which the Papacy might again stand forth as the leader of the Latin race. The acute statesman and learned scholar, Francisco Barbaro, who was at that time Capitano of Brescia, wrote to the Archbishop of Florence at the beginning of the Council, pointing out the means to be employed. Learning and argument, he said, were useless; for the Greeks were too acute and too proud of their knowledge to be overcome by disputation. They must be treated with tact and with kindness; they must be led to see that in union lie their safety and glory. He urged the necessity of the greatest care. The union must be made to succeed; otherwise there was no chance for the Papacy, and

[1] Raynaldus, sub anno, § 9: 'Inter afflictiones et angustias multas invictam semper tenuimus patientiam, ne tantum bonum deseri pateremur: sciebamus enim rem istam per alium explicari non posse'.

Italian affairs would be plunged into hopeless confusion.[1] The policy recommended by Barbaro was that pursued by the Pope's advisers. Cesarini's experience at Basel had fitted him admirably for the work to be done at Florence. The Papal diplomacy won a signal triumph, and followed up its first victory by others, less conspicuous indeed, but which added strength to the Papal cause. In December, 1439, the reconciliation of the Armenians to the Roman Church was announced to Europe, and Jacobites, Syrians, Chaldæans, and Maronites in succeeding years made illusory submission, which served to present a dazzling display of Papal power.

[1] See the letters of Barbaro in Pez, *Thesaurus*, vi., pt. 3, 172, etc. On March 1, 1438, he writes (p. 185): 'Nisi sapienter resistatur et cum Græcis rite et ordine res componantur, in magna perturbatione futura sunt omnia nisi præter expectationem hominum saluti divinitus remedium afferatur'.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

1. *Bohemia.*

The authorities for the beginning of the religious movement in Bohemia are Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia*, 1353-1413, Prag, 1862, and Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung*, vol. ii., Vienna, 1865, which contains (1) a life of Archbishop Ernest Pardubic, by William, Dean of Wyssehrad; (2) articles against Conrad of Waldhausen, framed by the Dominicans and Augustinians of Prag, with his reply; (3) an account of Milicz of Kremsier, by Mathias of Janow. Jordan, *Die Vorläufer des Husitenthums in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1846), publishes many extracts from the writings of Mathias; see also Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, iii. For the early history of the Hussite movement, Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber*, has a number of various documents and short chronicles. Palacky, *Documenta Magistri Jo. Hus vitam etc., illustrantia*, 1403-1418 (Prag, 1869), gives an admirably arranged collection of the letters of Hus, the charges brought against him at different times, together with the chief documents relating to the beginning of the religious movement in Bohemia. The writings of Hus, under the title *Joannis Hus Historia et Monumenta*, were published in 1558, and again, 1715. Much information is also given incidentally in *Medulla Tritici*, an attack on Wyclif, in Pez, *Thesaurus*, iv., pt. ii., 153, and also an attack on Hus by the same author, *Antihussus ven. Stephani Prioris Dolanensis, id.*, 303, etc. Stephen was prior of the Carthusian monastery of Dolan, near Olmütz, and began in 1408 to write against Hus. He finished the *Medulla* in 1411, and the *Antihussus* in 1412, and earned for himself the title of 'Malleus Hussitarum'. He wrote other tractates against the Hussites, some of which are given by Pez, *Dialogus Volatilis inter Aucam et Passerem*, where 'Auca' is the translation of the name Hus. which in Bohemia means a *goose*, and *Epistola ad Hussitas*. Stephen died in 1421. For the proceedings of Hus at Constance and his trial, the most important

documents are the letters of Hus written to his Bohemian friends, in PALACKY, *Documenta*, 77, etc.; the articles of accusation and his answers, *id.*, 152, etc., and especially the *Relatio Mag. Petri de Mladenowic, id.*, 236, etc. Peter Mladenowic was the secretary of John of Chlum; he was a graduate of the University of Prag, and was a faithful attendant on Hus till the last. To him the trial of Hus was the one great event at Constance, and his record is much more full than that of the other authorities who chronicle the multifarious activity of the Council. This *Relatio* of Mladenowic is the basis of the account given in *Historia et Monumenta Joannis Hus*, where, however, it was much garbled, till Höfler, i., 111, and afterwards Palacky, published it in full. From a comparison of it with Von der Hardt, and the mentions in letters of the ambassadors at Constance, we can gain a tolerably clear account of the proceedings.

For Jerome of Prag we have also the documents in Palacky, Höfler, and Von der Hardt, together with the famous letter of Poggio, which has been often printed, in Von der Hardt, iii., pt. v., 64, in *Fasciculus Rerum*, and in Palacky, *Documenta*, 624.

Modern literature is rich in books about Hus. Besides PALACKY, *Geschichte von Böhmen*, vol. iii., and ASCHBACH'S *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismunds*, may be mentioned KRUMMEL, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Reformation*, Gotha, 1866; BÖHRINGER, *Die Vorreformatoren des XIVten und XVten Jahrhunderts*, Zürich, 1858; ZERWENKA, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche in Böhmen*, Leipzig, 1869; LECHLER, *Johann von Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation*, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1873; HELFERT, *Huss und Hieronymus*, Prag, 1853; FRIEDRICH, *Die Lehre des Johannes Hus*, Regensburg, 1848; BERGER, *Johannes Huss und König Sigismund*.

A defence of the conduct of Sigismund in regard to the safe-conduct given to Hus may be found in HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. vi. He maintains that the safe-conduct was only meant to guarantee Hus against illegal outrage, not against judicial procedure; that the Bohemian knights who accompanied Hus did not understand it in any other sense, and that Hus himself wavered in his way of regarding it. Hefele argues as one who holds a brief for Sigismund. I have no doubt that Hus was deceived in the meaning which he attached to his safe-conduct. Sigismund had no intention of deceiving him, but accepted the Council's view of the meaning of his safe-conduct, and so surrendered his conscience light-heartedly to their care.

2. *The Emperor Sigismund.*

For Sigismund's personal history we have his Life by EBERHARD WINDECK, in MENCKEN, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, vol i., 1074, etc. Windeck was a native of Mainz, born about 1380, who was in Sigismund's service as a confidential agent in money matters from 1410 to 1423. He accompanied him in his journeys to Perpignan, Paris, and London, but retired to Mainz in 1424, and wrote his book, or at least revised it, after Sigismund's death. He wrote in German, and was a man of little education and of no literary skill. His book is neither a biography nor a chronicle, but a collection of such details and remarks as a business man attached to a court was likely to make. It is full of chronological inaccuracies, and Mencken's edition is far from being correct. Still Windeck is amongst the most valuable sources for information about the whole period of Sigismund's reign, and for the period of the Council of Constance he has the merit of being an eye-witness of much of Sigismund's activity.

Jean Jouvenel des Ursins, *Religieux de St. Denys* and *Monstrelet* all give accounts of Sigismund's journey to Paris. His proceedings at Perpignan are to be found in VON DER HARDT, iv., and MARTENE, *Thesaurus*, ii. The letters of Pulka tell us the information that from time to time reached the Council. A bitter and able attack on Sigismund, showing the hostility which his conduct awakened in France, is a letter of JEAN DE MONTREUIL, who was for many years secretary of Charles VI. This letter was really a manifesto against Sigismund by a skilled diplomat, and holds him up to unsparing ridicule. It was written at Constance in 1417, and is published by MARTENE and DURAND, *Amplissima Collectio*, ii., 1443, etc.

For the details of Sigismund's negotiations with France and England, and the circumstances which led to the treaty of Canterbury, see the letters of Sigismund in CARO, *Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds* (Wien, 1879), which Caro has further explained in a monograph, *Das Bundniss von Canterbury* (Gotha, 1880). I have on the whole followed Caro's view in opposition to MAX LENZ, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England* (Berlin, 1874), who is inclined to follow the opinion of Jean of Montreuil and the French, that Sigismund's treaty with England and desertion of France was determined upon before he left Constance, and that his ecclesiastical policy failed through the hindrances which his political charge put in the way. Lenz's book is, however,

valuable for the accurate way in which he points out the results of Sigismund's change of policy on the operations of the Council after his return. The letter of the English ambassador at Constance, JOHN FORESTER, in Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., 433, gives us an account of Sigismund's attitude at Constance in 1417; and this is supplemented by the letters of Pulka to the University of Vienna in *Archiv für Œsterreichische Geschichtsquellen*, xv.

3. *National Differences at Constance.*

The question of Jean Petit was discussed to weariness by Gerson. The documents relating to this matter and Gerson's writings about it are to be found in GERSON'S *Opera*, vol. v., where they occupy more than 700 folio pages. There are other writings on the same subject in vol. ii., 319, etc.; especially valuable is the *Dialogus Apologeticus*, p. 386, which is a general defence of his position and policy. The *Religieux de St. Denys* and *Monstrelet* are the authorities for the history.

The Council's embassy to Benedict XIII. is told in an interesting letter of the envoy *Lambertus de Stipite* (Lambert Stock), in Von der Hardt, iv., 1124. Additional documents relating to Benedict XIII. and Spain are given by DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge*, ii., 344., etc.

The struggle for precedence between the English and French nations produced two very amusing statements: *Gallorum contra Anglos Disputatio*, and *Vindiciæ Anglorum*, in Von der Hardt, v., 58, etc. They were first published in 1517 by Sir R. Wyngfield, ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Maximilian, and again at London in 1690. Though Von der Hardt has given a new collation of the MS., it is still corrupt, and in parts unintelligible, which is to be regretted, as it is full of interesting information about the geographical notions of the time.

The party contests at the end of the Council of Constance are difficult to unravel, from the slight information at our command, Von der Hardt's documents contain only a formal and official record of the proceedings of the congregations; we have very little information about the doings of the nations. The letters of the ambassadors of the Universities of Köln and Vienna are the most valuable sources of information; but they only give slight intimations. Filastre's Journal, published by Finke, is especially important for explaining the quarrels which led to the abandonment of reform. This question has been carefully dealt with by

HÜBLER, *Die Constanzer Reformation;* LENZ, *König Sigismund und Heinrich V.;* CARO, *Aus der Kanzlei Kaiser Sigismunds*, and *Das Bundniss von Canterbury.*

4. *Tractates about the Reformation of the Church.*

A mass of literature was called forth by the reforming movement of the fifteenth century, especially in the years preceding the Council of Constance. As this literature was polemical and ephemeral in its object, it is difficult in all cases to identify the writer. This is not a matter of great consequence, if we wish only to appreciate the profound need for reform of which the most orthodox were conscious; but it is of historical importance to discover, if possible, the particular sources from which such opinions come.

(1.) One of the most famous of these works is *De Corrupto Statu Ecclesiæ*, or *De Ruina Ecclesiæ.* It was published under the first title in 1519, and was assigned to Nicolas Clémanges; and TRITHEIM, in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (1494), put it amongst the works of Clémanges. Von der Hardt, vol. i., part iii., published it anew, under the title *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, from two Helmstadt MSS., at the end of which occur the ambiguous words, 'Sub quadam meditatione per magistrum Joh. Gerson super statu Ecclesiarum,' which may mean that Gerson wrote the preface, or that the MS. was copied from another in which a treatise of Gerson stood first. MÜNTZ, in *Nicolas de Clémanges* (Strassburg, 1846), first called in question the authorship of Clémanges, on the grounds of difference of style from his other works, difference of opinions, and incompatibility with Clémanges' position as secretary to Benedict XIII. SCHWAB, *Johannes Gerson* (493), has pointed out that these reasons are not convincing. Clémanges refers in his letters to writings which he has not yet published; and though he might hold his tongue from personal motives while he was in the service of Benedict XIII., he might profoundly feel the evils that beset the Church, though loyalty to Benedict made him endure as long as there was hope. After 1409 there was no reason to keep silence, and the very rhetorical character of this work, *De Ruina Ecclesiæ*, may be due to the reticence so long observed. Schwab points out verbal similarities with the work of Clémanges, *De Præsulibus Simoniacis.* The *De Ruina Ecclesiæ* was written during the withdrawal of obedience from Benedict XIII. in 1401 and 1402, though it was probably not

published till 1411. It was clearly written by a Frenchman, who was a member of the University of Paris, and who had official information. Müntz has not made out a strong enough case to overthrow the authority of Tritheim.

(2.) Three tracts are given by Von der Hardt in vol. i., parts v., vi., and vii. They are *De Modis uniendi et reformandi Ecclesiam in Concilio Universali*, which is assigned to GERSON; *De Difficultate Reformationis*, and *Monita de Necessitate Reformationis Ecclesiæ in Capite et Membris*, which are assigned to D'AILLY. SCHWAB, *Johannes Gerson*, 481, etc., pointed out that neither in ecclesiastical nor moral opinions, nor in its historical aspect, does the first of these treatises fit in with Gerson's authorship; nor do the others agree with D'Ailly. They are written from an imperialist, not from a French point of view, and are widely different from the opinions of the French theologians. Von der Hardt himself suggested that the third treatise ought to be ascribed to Dietrich of Niem, and Schwab confirmed his conjecture. He also assigned the second one to the same author. The first and most important of these treatises Schwab assigned to the Benedictine abbot and Bolognese professor, Andreas of Randuf, on the ground of similarities of expression found in a document of Andreas in NIEM'S *Nemus Unionis*. This hypothesis of Schwab is combated by LENZ, *Drei Tractate aus dem Schriftencyclus des Constanzer Concils* (Marburg, 1876), who claims the *De Modis uniendi* as a work also of Niem. The *De Modis* and *De Difficultate* were written in 1410, after the close of the Council of Pisa, with a view of determining the procedure on the next occasion. The *Monita de Necessitate* was written shortly before the assembling of the Council of Constance, probably in 1414. We are justified in regarding the *De Modis uniendi et reformandi Ecclesiam* as containing the fullest statement of the opinions and aspirations of the German reforming party.

The ideas prevalent in England were of a strictly practical kind and are expressed in the *Petitiones quoad Reformationem Ecclesiæ Militantis* of RICHARD ULLERSTON, in VON DER HARDT, i., pt. xxvii. Ullerston was a professor of theology at Oxford, a friend of Bishop Hallam of Salisbury; his work was written in 1408, in view of the Council of Pisa, and draws up sixteen points for consideration, not in the interest, as he is careful to explain, of the English Church only, but of the Universal Church.

The opinions of French theologians are to be found expressed by Gerson and D'Ailly in GERSON'S *Opera*, vol. ii.

Other writings of this period are *De Squaloribus Curiæ Romanæ*, published in WALCH, *Monumenta Medii Ævi*, i., pt. i., 1, etc., and in appendix to *Fasciculus Rerum*, 584, etc. This work seems to have been written by Mathias of Cracow, who lectured at Prag, Paris, and Heidelberg, was made Bishop of Worms in 1405, and died in 1410. There is a little doubt about the authorship, as some passages in the work speak of the schism as still existing; others mention John XXIII. and Martin V. Most probably the work was current at Basel during the Council, and was then interpolated. The question is discussed by Walch in his preface.

Speculum Aureum, an exposition of the way in which the Papal monarchy favoured and created simony, in WALCH, *Monumenta*, ii., part i., 67, etc., also in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, 1528, and in the appendix to *Fasciculus Rerum*, 63. This work, which was written in 1404, is attributed by Goldast to *Paulus Anglicus;* Walch in his preface shows that it was written by ALBERT ENGELSTAT, a Bavarian, doctor of theology at Prag.

Numerous sermons and pamphlets were produced at Constance, but they are less important, as they only put into rhetorical language the passing phases of opinion in the Council. Many are given in VON DER HARDT, in WALCH, *Monumenta*, in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, in BROWN'S *Fasciculus Rerum*, and in FINKE, *Forschungen und Quellen.*

5. *The Question of Annates.*

This complicated and interesting question shows much of the actual working of the system of Papal taxation, and the literature on the subject gives us many details which are generally overlooked. The official account of the proceedings in the French nation from October 15, 1415, to March 19, 1416, is given in BOURGEOIS DU CHASTENET, *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance* (Paris, 1718), pp. 409-478, headed 'Collatio Cleri Gallicani Constanciæ ad Concilium congregati super abusus quibus Ecclesia Gallicana opprimebatur'. The official answer of the French nation to the appeal of the Procurator Fiscal is to be found in *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ch. xxii.; also in *Fasciculus Rerum*, i., 377, and in VON DER HARDT, i., 761. The answer on the part of the Cardinals is to be found in PETER D'AILLY, *De Potestate Ecclesiastica*, in VON DER HARDT, vi., p. 51. On the general question of annates, PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, v., 567, etc., has thrown much light by tracing the different forms assumed by this exaction and the history of each.

6. *The Election of Martin V.*

The accounts given of the proceedings within the Conclave which elected Martin V. are very contradictory. They are the following:—

(1.) Dacher, *Von der Hardt*, iv., 1481, on the authority of the protonotary of the Archbishop of Gnesen, who was present with his master, represents a large number of candidates put forth on national grounds, each receiving a small number of votes—12, 9, 6, 4, and so on. When it was clear that this method of procedure was futile, the Germans resolved to withdraw their national candidate, if they could prevail on the other nations to do likewise. First the Italians and then the English joined them; but the French and Spaniards refused to do so till the other nations threatened to denounce them throughout Christendom for preventing union. At last, on the morning of November 11, reflection and prayer brought unanimity; at ten o'clock the sounds of the hymn outside induced the electors to agree to act in concert; at eleven Oddo Colonna was elected.

(2.) Zurita, in *Anales de Aragon*, quoted by Bzovius (Von der Hardt, iv., 1482), says that the first scrutiny showed the votes divided among six candidates, the Cardinals of Ostia, Saluzzo, Venice, and Oddo Colonna, and the Bishops of Geneva and Chichester. At the next voting the Cardinal of Venice and the Bishop of Chichester dropped out. Then by a sudden movement the votes were unanimously given for Oddo Colonna.

(3.) Walsingham (ed. Riley), ii., 320, says that votes were first given for the Bishops of Winchester and London, and 'Cardinalis Franciæ,' who is clearly Peter d'Ailly. Next day the Bishop of London accedes to Oddo Colonna, and his example influences all the other electors to do likewise.

(4.) An account given by a priest present at Constance at the time is printed from a MS. in the Königsberg Archives in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, Band iii. (Leipzig, 1866), p. 373, Anmerkung 4. The writer calls Oddo Colonna 'dominum meum,' which might indicate that he was one of Cardinal Colonna's household, and so perhaps an Italian. He simply says that no election could be made in the first scrutinies, but on November 11 the electors, touched by the hymn outside, proceeded more unanimously to work. Cardinal Colonna had twenty-three votes. 'Surrexit igitur quidam de dominis Cardinalibus exhortans totum cœtum dominorum electorum sub hiis verbis vel eorum similibus: Reve-

rendissimi fratres! Hic reverendissimus pater, qui omnes alios electos in multis excedit vocibus, quantus sit nacione, quia princeps Romanus, quantusve vita, scientia et moribus, omnibus vobis adeo notum est quod ulteriori non egeat declaracione, nec videtur quod sibi similis sit in toto cetu hujus sacri concilii valeat reperiri. Si ergo placet omnes in ipsius electionem aspiremus.' After this address Cardinal Colonna was unanimously elected.

(5.) There is in PALACKY, *Documenta Mag. Joh. Hus Illustrantia*, p. 665, a *Relatio de Papæ Martini V. Electione atque Coronatione*, from a collection of documents made by a Bohemian monk whose labours ended in 1419 (p. xi.). The document itself is a contemporary account written from Constance soon after Martin V.'s coronation on November 21; it is in the form of a diary, and contains a detailed account of the ecclesiastical ceremonies observed. According to it the candidates were Colonna, D'Ailly and Jacopo da Camplo, abbot-elect of Penna: Colonna's election was determined by the accession of Da Camplo and his party.

(6.) I originally followed this last account, but the publication of Cardinal Filastre's Journal, FINKE, *Forschungen und Quellen*, 233-4, gives an account of one who was undoubtedly present, and records the votes actually given. Before its authority all the other accounts give way.

The discrepancies which they show probably arise from the confusion of the proceedings within each nation with the proceedings of the Conclave as a whole. Dacher's report recognises nothing but nations, and makes no mention of the Cardinals as a party. The confusion in these different statements probably arose from the fact that the national deputies were not so reticent as the Cardinals, and were naturally anxious after the event to vindicate their national honour. They mentioned the names of all who might have been proposed or who were discussed by the deputies of the several nations; those who heard them were misled to attach undue importance to these suggestions.

7. *Lives of Martin V.*

MURATORI, iii., pt. ii., 857-88, prints two lives of Martin V., from MSS. in the Vatican. The first is short and annalistic, opposed to Martin V. on the grounds of his avarice and nepotism, written under the influence of the reaction of the Curia which set in after Martin's death. Even this hostile writer is bound to confess 'suo tempore tenuit stratas et vias publicas securas; quod non fuit

auditum a ducentis annis et circa'. The second life is fuller, and is eulogistic; it is in general accurate, but is the work of one who thinks little of the conciliar movement, and rejoices over the dissolution of the Council of Siena as averting the danger of another schism. This last life was known to PLATINA, who has taken it as the basis of his life of Martin V., incorporating other information.

The history of the Papacy from the accession of Martin V. is treated in great detail, and with much learning, by PASTOR, *Geschichte der Papste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.*

8. *Florentine Authorities.*

For the relations of Martin V. with Florence we have information from POGGIO, *Hist. Florentina*, in MURATORI, xx., 322, and LEONARDO BRUNI, *Commentarii*, in MURATORI, xix., 630. As both of these were in the confidence of the Pope, their information is valuable. Still more important are the *Commissioni di Rinaldo degli Albizzi*, edited by Cesare Guasti (Florence, 1867). Rinaldo was a celebrated Florentine statesman, born in 1370, and engaged in the business of the Republic from 1399 to 1434, when he went into exile before the power of Cosimo de' Medici. Rinaldo went in 1418 as ambassador of Florence to Martin V., whom he met at Pavia, and in his *Commissioni* (i., 294) we have an account of the negotiations which brought the Pope to Florence. Again, in 1421, Rinaldo was ambassador at Rome to make peace in Naples (i., 312). In 1424 he was again sent to Rome to win over Martin V. to side with Florence against the Duke of Milan (ii., 85, etc.). In 1425 Rinaldo again returned to Rome for the same purpose (ii., 320). From Rinaldo's complaints of Martin's long delays in answering we see the Pope's caution and diplomatic skill. The *Commissioni* of Rinaldo generally are full of incidental remarks on the Pope's policy, and chronicle the rumours which from time to time prevailed. They show us that Martin V. commanded the respect of the politicians of Italy.

For the period of Martin V. the *Chronicon Domini Antonini Archipræsulis Florentini* becomes valuable. S. ANTONINUS was the son of a Florentine notary, who entered the Dominican order in that city at the age of 16, about the year 1405. He was celebrated for his theological learning as well as for the sanctity of his life, and his *Summa Theologiæ* was a work of considerable repute. He distinguished himself as a theologian in the Council

of Florence, and in 1445 Eugenius IV. made him Archbishop of that city, where he was much venerated till his death in 1459. In 1523 he was canonised. He wrote a universal chronicle, compiled with the carefulness of a theologian rather than with the insight of a historian. His chronicle was continued till the time of his death. Though it is deficient in critical spirit, is destitute of style, and abounds in inaccuracies, it still contains valuable information on many points of detail which cannot be found elsewhere. For the early period of Martin V. he has borrowed largely from Leonardo Bruni, and becomes more valuable as he approaches matters of which he was contemporary.

9. *Bracchio and Sforza.*

For the history of these condottieri generals we have two lives which relate their exploits at length. MURATORI, xix., 435, prints *Vita Bracchii Perusini*, by JOANNES ANTONIUS CAMPANUS, the friend of Pius II. and Bishop of Croton. Unfortunately, the life of Bracchio is written chiefly as an exercise of style, and though it relates the actual facts of Bracchio's exploits, the information that it contains has to be stripped of turgid laudation, and the real meaning of events has to be supplied from other sources. Similarly, we have a life of Sforza by LEODORISIO CRIVELLI in MURATORI, xix., 628. Crivelli was a member of a noble Milanese family, and intended to write a history of Francesco Sforza, to which this account of his father was to serve as a preface; the work, however, was not continued beyond 1424. There is another work of Crivelli in Muratori, xxiii., 21, *De Expeditione Pii II. in Turcas*, written when Crivelli was a Papal secretary, an office on which he entered in 1458. Some writers have wished to make out that these works are by two different authors of the same name; but the reasons which induce them to do so seem inadequate (see Tiraboschi). Though we know little of Crivelli we are justified in assuming that he was amply acquainted with affairs. His life of Sforza is, like that of Campanus, of the nature of a panegyric, but is more modest and restrained.

10. *Naples.*

For the general history of Naples we have the authorities referred to in Appendix to vol. i. The *Annales Bonincontrii Miniatensis* in MURATORI, xxi., are also useful. Lorenzo Bonincontri was born at S. Miniato in 1410; but his father was obliged

to go into exile in 1431, in consequence of an appeal to the Emperor Sigismund to save S. Miniato from the tyranny of Florence. Bonincontri, after many wanderings, settled at Naples under the protection of King Alfonso. He was celebrated as an astrologer, a poet, and a scholar, and wrote works on astrology as well as poems. He was a friend of learned men, amongst others of Marsilio Ficino. He began a history of Naples, which did not go beyond the year 1436, *i.e.*, did not reach the period with which he himself was personally familiar. Muratori has printed his *Annales* from 1366 to 1458. They are brief, but to the point—a pithy summary of facts with few judgments: his narrative, though not vivid, is correct and careful.

11. *The Council of Siena.*

Till recently very little was known about the Council; what was known was principally gathered from casual mentions by the various chroniclers previously mentioned, the letters in RAYNALDUS sub anno, and a few documents in MANSI, vol. xxviii.

Valuable as a more vivid picture of the relation of an Italian city towards the Papacy and towards a Council is the brief chronicle of FRANCESCO DI TOMMASEO in MURATORI, xx., 23. It is one of a series of Sienese chronicles. The writer tells how the Sienese regarded the Council and were discontented at losing the prospects of a rich harvest from its dissolution.

The chief authority, however, for the Council of Siena is JOHN STOJKOVIC of Ragusa, who was himself present as a representative of the University of Paris, both at Rome before the Council, at Pavia, and at Siena. He afterwards went to the Council of Basel, and wrote *Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii*, edited by Palacky, in vol. i. of *Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Seculi XV.* (Vienna, 1857). Pages 1-65 of this work are occupied with an account of the Council of Siena, which I have mostly followed, though it differs in many particulars from the accounts of the chroniclers mentioned above. They wrote in view of the ignominious collapse of the Council, which no one really wanted; to John of Ragusa it was a necessary link between the decree *Frequens* and the Council of Basel. His account is detailed, and is by an ecclesiastical eye-witness; the other mentions are only those of outsiders, who looked solely on the political aspect of the matter. As regards the numbers present at Siena, John seems to exaggerate as much as the others seem to minimise.

12. *France and England.*

The documents relating to Martin V. and France are to be found in *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, ch. xxii. Martin V.'s correspondence with Chichele and Beaufort is in RAYNALDUS, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, and WILKINS, *Concilia*, vol. iii., 471, etc. Additional documents are to be found in DUCK'S *Life of Chichele* (1617), and SPENCER'S *Life of Chichele* (1783).

13. *Rome.*

The letters of the celebrated scholar POGGIO BRACCIOLINI, edited by TONELLI (Florence, 1832), give us some idea of the atmosphere of the Curia under Martin V. Poggio was a Papal secretary, and though it is disappointing that his letters say so little about actual events, still they give us an idea of the extortion that prevailed. See especially the letter to the secretary of the Bishop of Winchester, Tonelli, ii., 18. A still more vivid picture of the Court of Martin V. is to be found in the letters of the ambassadors of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, who watched over the interests of the Order at Rome. Extracts from these letters, which are in the Archives of Königsberg, are given by J. VOIGT, *Stimmen aus Rom über den päpstlichen Hof im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, in VON RAUMER'S *Historisches Taschenbuch*, vol. iv., 1833. These letters are written in a plain, business-like spirit, which treats bribes to the Pope as a necessary and natural source of expense. The following may serve as a specimen: 'Der Papst thut dieses nur darum mit so grosser Verfolgung und Übermuth, weil er uns zu zwingen meint, ihm 10 bis 12,000 Gulden zu zuweisen, was wir doch, ob Gott will, nimmer thun wollen, denn er ist so gierig, übermüthig und drückend gegen diejenigen, über die er Macht zu haben meint, als nur jemals ein Papst gewesen ist' (p. 170).

Concerning the relations of Martin V. with his family, information is to be found in COPPI'S *Memorie Colonnesi* (Rome, 1855), and VAN REUMONT, *Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte*, vol. v.

MURATORI, xxiv., 1106, prints the *Mesticanza di Paolo di Liello Petrone de lo Rione di Ponte*, a diary written by a Roman citizen; some of the MS. is lost, but the part which remains covers the period between 1433 and 1446; it is the work of an eye-witness who was keen and observant.

14. *Death of Benedict XIII., and End of the Schism.*

The death of Benedict XIII. is assigned by RAYNALDUS to the year 1423, on the ground of his condemnation in the Council of Siena as 'damnatæ memoriæ'; also Martin V.'s letter to Alfonso, announcing the transfer of the Council from Pavia to Siena, begins: 'Per litteras crebras et nuntios habetur quod Petrus de Luna ab hac luce subtractus est' (Raynaldus, 1423, § 9). But Mansi, in his note to Raynaldus, points out that a French Cardinal of Benedict XIII.'s obedience, Jean Carrer, in a letter to the Count of Armagnac gives the following circumstantial account of the death of Benedict XIII. and the election of his successor: 'Novembris die xvii. anni Domini MCCCCXXIV, sanctæ memoriæ dominus Benedictus XIII. Papa verus incipiens infirmari eodem mense die xxvii. quatuor cardinales . . . creavit; quibus creatis die penultima ejusdem mensis inter septimam et octavam horam in Domino expiravit' (MARTENE, *Thesaurus*, ii., 1731). This letter was written in 1429, protesting against the action of the Cardinals who elected Gil Munoz. The writer says that he was not present himself, and received no notice of Benedict XIII.'s death from the Cardinals who were present, nor did he hear of it till the following June, when he was informed by the Count of Armagnac. If this were so in his case, we need not wonder that rumours of Benedict XIII.'s death had prevailed previously, and that Martin V. believed him to be dead in 1423. Contelorius, in CIACONIUS, *Vitæ Paparum*, ii., 744; *Vita Dahæ* says: 'Extat Martini V. Diploma datum quinto Idus Octobris Anno X.Pontificatus (1427) in quo narratur Benedictum mense Septembri die ante obitum anno 1424 in Paniscola de novo enunciasse nonnullos Cardinales'; from which it would appear that Martin V. afterwards learned the truth.

The documents relating to the end of the schism are in MARTENE, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ii.

15. *The Hussite Wars.*

The difficulty that I have found in this chapter has been to give a condensed account of the affairs in Bohemia, selecting only such points as are necessary for an understanding of the problem which faced the Council of Basel. I regret that many picturesque details had to be omitted; but I am not dealing primarily with

the history of Bohemia. This subject has received much attention in the present century. The current accounts, till a few years ago, were taken from German and Catholic sources. The fluent pen of ÆNEAS SYLVIUS in his *Historia Bohemica* produced an admirably interesting account of Bohemian affairs, which he had many opportunities of personally studying at Basel, Vienna, and afterwards in Bohemia itself. The artistic rendering of Æneas was mainly followed by succeeding writers, such as COCHLÆUS and DUBRAVIUS, whose writings were incorporated by L'ENFANT in his *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites et du Concile de Bâle.* The present century, however, has seen the opening out of the historical records of Bohemia itself, chiefly through the labours of Palacky, Höfler, and more recently Tomek. PALACKY's *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtschreiber* (1830) was the beginning of studies the results of which are expressed in the ten volumes of his *Geschichte von Böhmen.* As I do not know the Tcheck language, I have followed Palacky in all points in which he draws from the Bohemian writers in that tongue. Many Latin documents dealing with the beginning of the religious movement in Bohemia are contained in PALACKY, *Documenta Magistrum Joh. Hus. Illustrantia*, which reaches to the year 1418. The period from 1418 to 1436 is illustrated by the documents contained in PALACKY, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkriegs* (1873). A number of annals and chronicles are published by HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung* (1856-1866), and Höfler's preface contains much valuable criticism.

The most interesting among the Bohemian chroniclers is LAURENTIUS OF BREZOVA, HÖFLER, i., 321, etc., whose chronicle is of the utmost importance for the years 1419-1423, where it unfortunately ends. This is the period of the outbreak of the religious war, and Brezova enables us to judge of the feeling of the Bohemian people. He was at the Court of Wenzel, and was an eye-witness of affairs in Prag; he is a strong Utraquist, but is decidedy opposed to the Taborites. On the Catholic side we have a more lengthy chronicle by BARTOSCHEK OF DRAHONICZ, in DOBNER, *Monumenta Historica*, i., 130., etc.; it extends from 1419 to 1443, and though without style or proportion, it is valuable for military history. Bartoschek was a royalist baron and soldier. The same period is also illustrated by the *Tractatus de Longævo Schismate* of the Abbot LUDOLF OF SAGAN, edited by LOSERTH (Vienna, 1880). PALACKY in his *Italienische Reise* had already called attention to

this work, which has little new to say, but is important as giving the impressions of a contemporary from the strong Catholic point of view. The work begins with the election of Urban VI., and goes down to the year 1423. On the other hand, we have the *Chronicon Taboritarum* of NICOLAS OF PELHRSCHIMOW, in HÖFLER, ii., 475, etc., which deals, chiefly from a theological point of view, with the disputes between the Taborites and the theologians of Prag; it extends to the year 1444. It may suffice to have indicated these four works as illustrating the different sides of contemporary opinion.

Amongst German writers WINDECK in MENCKEN, i., 1073, shows us the opinion which Sigismund and his circle entertained of the Hussites and their doings. So, too, does ANDREAS RATISBONENSIS, an Augustinian canon of S. Magnus at Regensburg, who devoted himself to historical writing, stimulated, it would seem, by the Council of Constance. He entered the Augustinian order in 1410, and his writings extended to the period of 1439. His works dealing with the Hussites have been published by HÖFLER; they are *De Expeditionibus in Bohemia contra Hussitas hereticos* (HÖFLER, ii., 406, etc.), which embraces the period from 1418 to 1429, and the DIALOGUS (HÖFLER i., 565) between *Ratio* and *Animus*, in which the theological as well as the political significance of the Hussite movement is discussed. These writings of Andreas give us the general feeling of the orthodox party in Germany. Andreas writes from the clerical point of view and is indignant at the lukewarmness of the princes; in a *Sermo secrete editus* (HÖFLER, ii., 416), dated 1422, he makes a violent attack on Sigismund, whom he accuses as a deceiver and beguiler of the Church, spending its wealth in profligate living and heeding not its distress.

Further examination of the writings of this period may be found in PALACKY'S *Würdigung* and HÖFLER'S preface. For modern works on Bohemia PALACKY'S *Geschichte von Böhmen* supersedes all others. ASCHBACH'S *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismunds* tells the tale from a German point of view; but the most accurate examination of the period of warfare against tbe Hussites is that of BEZOLD, *König Sigismund und die Reichskriege gegen die Husiten*, 3 vols., Munich, 1872-7. For the general aspect of the Hussite movement in its religious and political character, BEZOLD'S *Zur Geschichte des Husitenthums* (Munich, 1874) is excellent. A more popular book dealing with the entire subject is DENIS, *Huss et la Guerre des Hussites*, Paris, 1878.

16. *Eugenius IV.*

1. **Lives of Eugenius IV.:—**

The life in MURATORI, vol. iii., part 2, 868, is slight and unimportant save for the Pope's dealings with the Colonna at the beginning of his pontificate. On this point we gather much additional information from the diary of STEFANO INFESSURA in MURATORI, iii., part 2, 1123. Infessura's career is not known; but in 1478 he was prætor in Horta, and afterwards secretary of the Senate. His diary begins in 1295, and is very fragmentary; it is written partly in Latin and partly in Italian. It grows more connected as it approaches his own time, but has some information, not given elsewhere, of the events of the years 1431 and 1434.

The life of Eugenius IV. by PLATINA can scarcely be ranked as an authority, though it has some value as a compilation made while events were still fresh; but there is little in Platina that we do not find more fully elsewhere, save again the episode of the Colonna rising.

More valuable is the life by VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, in his most interesting book *Vite di Uomini Illustri*, first published by MAI, in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. i. Vespasiano was a Florentine bookseller, born about 1420, and who lived certainly till 1493. He had to do with the formation of many great libraries, especially those of S. Marco at Florence, of Nicolas V., and of the Duke of Urbino. In his position as copyist of manuscripts he was intimate with almost all the chief patrons of learning in the fifteenth century. He writes with great simplicity, and is a biographer rather than a historian; but his book is full of interesting traits of the men of his time, and no work gives such a vivid impression of the greatness of the early Renaissance movement. About Eugenius IV., he chiefly informs us of his stay at Florence and his zeal for the reformation of the neighbouring monasteries. He had no personal knowledge of Eugenius IV., but regards him primarily as the patron of Nicolas V. His judgment of Eugenius IV. is expressed in the words which he puts into the mouth of the dying Pope—'O Gabriello, quanto sarebbe suto meglio per la salute dell' anima tua, che tu non fussi mai suto ne papa, ne cardinale, ma fussiti morto nella tua religione'.

Other authorities, who have been previously mentioned, are S. ANTONINUS, whom Eugenius made Archbishop of Florence; BONICONTRIUS in MURATORI, xxi.; POGGIO, *Historia Florentini*, in MURATORI, xx.; BILLIUS and LEONARDO BRUNI, in MURATORI, xix.

The ecclesiastical ceremonies during the stay of Eugenius IV. in Florence are chronicled in an anonymous *Istorie di Firenze*, in Muratori, xix., 949.

2. The *Vita Cardinalis Firmani*, by Battista Poggio, son of the famous Poggio Braccioli, in Baluze, *Milscellanea*, iii., 266, is mainly an exercise of style, and was dedicated to Cardinal Ammannati as such. Still it contains some materials for the beginning of the pontificate of Eugenius IV.

The letters of Poggio Bracciolini, who was in the service of Eugenius IV. till his flight to Florence, give us notices of what was passing at Rome. In a letter written just after the election of Eugenius IV. (Tonelli, iv., 20) he says: 'Deus autem effecit ut Pontificem habeamus quem cipiebamus, eum scilicet qui præteritorum errorum reformationi vacaturus videatur suscepturusque publicam orbis curam, si ei per aliorum molestias liceret. . . . Id me consolatur nos habere Pontificem bene cordatum et qui non terreatur inanibus minis aut vagis rumoribus.' More important still is the Dialogue *De Varietatibus Fortunæ* (Paris, 1723), a work owing its origin to the sight of the ruins of Rome, containing a most valuable description of the city in his day, and full of picturesque details of contemporary history. It was written in 1447, just after the death of Eugenius IV. The sight of the ruins of Rome leads the writer to moralise on the mutability of fortune, of which he produces many historical examples. Finally, he settles on the pontificate of Eugenius IV., as amply illustrating his theme, and book iii. of the Dialogue is devoted to a sketch of the troubles of Eugenius. 'Cum pace uti posset, bello se implicuit minime necessario,' is his comment (p. 87) on the attempt made by the Pope on the Colonna.

Still more important for the history of Italy during the first ten years of Eugenius IV. are the *Decades Historiarum* of Flavius Biondus (Basel, 1569). Flavio Biondo was a native of Forlì, born in 1388, and died in 1463. He was a diligent student of antiquity, and went to seek his fortune at the Papal Court early in the pontificate of Eugenius IV.; he served as secretary to Eugenius and his three successors. His labours in elucidating the antiquities of Italy are amply shown in his great works *Roma Restaurata* and *Italia Illustrata*. His *Decades* mark an important epoch in historical writing. Beginning with the invasion of Alaric, Biondo traces the history of Italy up to his own times: his work was cut short by his death, and extends only to the date 1440.

He divided it into decades, after the example of Livy. His work is excellent in arrangement, in largeness of view, and in diligent research. He writes like a true student seeking for light in dark places. We are, however, concerned only with the period of Eugenius IV., whose flight from Rome in 1434 he describes with masterly vividness. Of the entire history of Italy during this period he gives a careful sketch. Biondo shows us the passion for knowledge of the humanists before their attention had been devoted primarily to style. But the desire for style had begun to prevail before his death; Pius II. made an epitome of the *Decades* so as to make them more popular, and speaks of Biondo's book as 'opus laboriosum et utile, verum expolitore emendatoreque dignum' (*Com.*, xi.).

3. Sigismund in Italy.

Besides the general authorities above quoted, and those which especially deal with Sigismund, such as Windeck, we have some special sources of information. The learned Sienese, Pietro Rossi, in his Chronicle in Muratori, xx., 40, etc., gives a detailed account of Sigismund's sojourn in Siena. To this period of Sigismund's history is to be referred the famous novel of Æneas Sylvius, *Lucretiæ et Euryali Amores*, which is founded upon a love story of Caspar Schlick, Sigismund's chancellor. Schlick supplied Æneas with the outlines, which he worked up into a tale, and contributed the details of Sienese life with which it is coloured. A description of Sigismund's coronation is given by Poggio in a letter to Niccoli in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iii., 183 (ed. Luca). From the German side the fullest account, except that of Windeck, is given by Cornelius Zantfliet in his *Chronicon*, in Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. v. Zantfliet was a monk of S. Jacob at Liège: his chronicle extends to the year 1461, when he probably died. We do not know the sources from which he gained his information; but concerning Sigismund in Italy he seems to have had especially accurate accounts, and gives details which are not to be found elsewhere.

For Sigismund's relations with the Council during this period we have several of his letters in Mansi, xxix., in Martene, *Amplissima Collectio*, vol. viii., also in John of Segovia. Much interesting information is given by Kluckhohn in an article on *Herzog Wilhelm III. von Bayern* in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. ii. (1862), 521. The article contains the results of the writer's research into the letters of William of Bavaria, who

represented Sigismund at Basel, addressed partly to Sigismund, partly to his own brother in Bavaria. They are preserved in the Reichs Archiv at Munich.

4. For Italian politics at the end of the pontificate of Eugenius IV. we have the remarkable Life of Filippo Maria Visconti, by PIERO DECEMBRIO CANDIDO, in MURATORI, xx., 986, etc. Piero's father was secretary to Giovanni Maria Visconti, and he himself was born in 1399. He was a famous scholar, and served first the Duke of Milan, afterwards Nicolas V., and finally Alfonso of Naples. His Life of Filippo Maria is one of the most notable biographies of the period, and shows the power of delineating character, and the careful appreciation of individuality, which existed amongst the early humanists. We are tempted sometimes to think that Piero has exaggerated slight traits in his desire to produce a finished picture of a typical Italian despot. His Life of Francesco Sforza in MURATORI, xx., 1024, is more brief, and as it treats of a living personage is more guarded; but the description of Sforza's entering into Milan is vivid and powerful.

More important for the life of Francesco Sforza is *Res gestæ Francisi Sfortiæ*, by GIOVANNI SIMONETA, in MURATORI, xxi., 179. Simoneta was Sforza's secretary, and from the year 1444 to his death in 1466 was constantly in his service. He conducted many negotiations for his master, and State papers passed through his hands, so that he is an authority of the highest importance for the relations between Sforza and the Popes.

For the war between Sforza and Venice we have also *Commentarii Jacobi Piccinini* of PIERO PORCELLIO, in MURATORI, xx., 69, etc., continued in MURATORI, xxv., 1, etc. Porcellio was the envoy of Alfonso of Naples to Venice, and during the interregnum after the death of Filippo Maria Visconti he was in the camp of Piccinino and informed Alfonso of events as they passed. He afterwards reduced his impressions to a definite form in his Commentaries, which cover the years 1451-1453. Porcellio writes a somewhat inflated panegyric on his hero, and has not much real historical insight. More valuable is the *Vita di Niccolo Piccinino*, by PIERO DECEMBRIO CANDIDO in MURATORI, xx., 1051; it was written as a funeral oration on Niccolo's death in 1444, and gives a brief sketch of his life and exploits in a laudatory strain.

A modern work which gathers much information about the condottieri of Italy is RICOTTI, *Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura in Italia* (1845).

A work which covers much of the history of the Papal States is *Cronica de' Principali Fatti d'Italia dal anno* 1417 *al* 1468, by NICCOLO DELLA TUCCIA, edited by Orioli, Rome, 1852. Tuccia was a merchant of Viterbo, born in 1400, who wrote also a chronicle of Viterbo, besides this general record of Italian affairs. For the pontificates of Eugenius IV. and Nicolas V. his sketch is full and accurate; for the later period he becomes more annalistic.

17. *The Council of Basel.*

The Acts of the Council, and a number of documents relating to it, are given in MANSI, *Concilia*, vols. xxix.-xxxi. For this period Mansi's collection is particularly rich. The greater part of vol. viii. of MARTENE and DURAND, *Amplissima Collectio*, is also devoted to letters and documents dealing with this subject. The Acts of the Council of Basel were largely circulated, and the Council produced its own historiographer in John of Segovia, whose vast collection of documents remained at Basel. It was used by AUGUSTINUS PATRICIUS, a canon of Siena, who, in 1480, wrote a *Summa Concilii Basiliensis* at the request of Cardinal Piccolomini. He says about the MS. of John of Segovia: 'Hos quidem codices ipsi Basileæ vidimus, magna diligentia ut Sibyllarum libros a civibus servatos; quorum exemplum a Reverendissimo Domino Cardinali Sancti Morci, rerum ecclesiasticarum diligentissimo perscrutatore, nuper habuimus'. He cannot, however, have had a transcript of all John of Segovia's MS., but at best an abstract. He had, however, other sources of information: 'Habui et primam hujus synodi partem collectam a piæ memoriæ Dominico Cardinale Firmano qui tamdiu Concilio interfuit, quamdiu mansit concordia cum Eugenio Pontifice'. Besides this use of Capranica's papers by Patricius, they were also used by MICHAEL CATALANUS, *De Vita et Scriptis Dominici Capranicæ*, Firmi, 1793. The use of these authorities gave the work of Patricius great weight; it is published in SCHANNAT and HARTZHEIM, *Concilia Germaniæ*, vol. v., 774, etc.

But the work of Patricius has been thrown into the shade by the publication of JOHN OF SEGOVIA'S *Gesta sacrosanctæ synodi generalis Basiliensis* in *Monumenta Conciliorum generalium sæculi decimi quinti*, vol. ii. (Vienna, 1873). Unfortunately only the first part of this vast collection has yet appeared; but it covers the most interesting part of the Council's activity, up to the departure

of Cesarini at the end of 1437. John of Segovia, as his name shows, was a Spaniard, a learned canonist, one of the first who came to the Council, and one of the last who left it. His history contains the decrees and many of the letters of the Council, which his position enabled him easily to procure. He was one of the leading members of the assembly, thoroughly convinced of the rightfulness of the Council's position, and a firm adherent of the conciliar principle. He was, however, a wise and moderate man, averse from extreme measures, and dragged against his will to follow the lead of the Cardinal d'Allemand. He was one of the Cardinals of Felix V., and after the dissolution of the Council returned quietly to a small bishopric in Spain, to which Nicolas V. appointed him. His work is devoid of style, and is the production of a canonist rather than a historian, but it is a careful collection of documents and an accurate statement of facts. We can only regret the absence of picturesque details, and the exclusively theologcial nature of the judgments which it contains. John of Segovia is only interested in tracing the development of the conciliar principle, which he does in an abstract manner. Yet his work remains as the most complete account of the Council's activity as a whole.

What is wanting in John of Segovia is partly supplied by ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, who projected an entire history of the Council, of which we have only the beginning in a letter describing Basel, printed at the end of URSTISIUS, *Historiæ Basiliensis Epitome.* We possess, however, two works of his concerning the Council—(1.) *Commentarii de Gestis Basiliensis Concilii*, which is printed in all the editions of his works. This is, however, a fragment; it begins with the Diet of Nürnberg in 1438, and reaches to the election of Felix V. in 1439; it was probably written soon after the events it describes. It has a strong theological aspect, and gives at length the arguments of the Council in favour of its final proceedings against the Pope. As an appendix is a letter of Æneas to John of Segovia, describing the coronation of Felix V. (2.) More important is his second work, *De Rebus Basiliæ Gestis Commentarius*, dedicated to Cardinal Carvajal, written probably in 1451, when the Council of Basel was a thing of the past. In this Æneas writes as a historian and gives a philosophical survey of the causes of the conciliar movement and its failure. He looks at the Council in the light of his own after-experiences, and so takes a clear and decided view of its revolutionary character and its unfounded preten-

sions. The great merit of the book is its clear and incisive judgments of character. The step from John of Segovia to Æneas Sylvius is from the mediæval to the modern world. The one deals with abstract ideas, the other with definite personalities; one is obscure, and involved in style, the other writes with epigrammatic terseness in every sentence. This interesting work is only to be found in Fea, *Pius II. a calumniis vindicatus*, Rome, 1822.

Another work of Æneas Sylvius, in defence of the Council of Basel, is the *Libellus Dialogorum de generalis Concilii authoritate et Gestis Basiliensium* in Kollar, *Analecta Vindobonensia*, ii., 685. These dialogues are written in the style of Cicero's Tusculans, and are a masterpiece of elegant style in dressing up the arguments in favour of the conciliar principle in an attractive manner, and enlivening the tedium by appropriate digressions. They show Æneas bidding for the Council's favour by his power of fine writing. He is dazzling the theologians by showing them what a scholar can do.

The letters of Æneas Sylvius, written from Basel, contain incidental notices of the Council, especially one of May 20, 1437, in Mansi, xxxi., 220.

The history of the beginning of the Council of Basel, and of its relation with the Councils of Constance and Siena, is given by John of Ragusa, *Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii*, in *Mon. Conciliorum*, i., 1, etc. It extends only to October, 1431, the period in which John represented Cesarini.

If John of Segovia writes from the conciliar point of view, and Æneas Sylvius somewhat as an indifferentist, we have the Italian opinion in the letters of Ambrogio Traversari, the learned general of the Camaldulensians, who was the envoy of Eugenius IV. to Basel in 1435, and afterwards to Sigismund in 1436. These letters have been edited by Mehus (1759), whose Life of Traversari is a mine of information about the literary history of the time. The letters of Traversari to Eugenius IV., to Sigismund and to Cesarini are especially valuable. It was largely owing to Traversari's arguments and to his mediation that Cesarini was reconciled to the Pope, and his letters enable us to see the motives which weighed with Italian Churchmen. They show the general feeling of the Council, and give many details about its chief members. Traversari was also an active member of the Council of Florence, and tells us much about the Greeks, especially Bessarion. He died soon after the end of the Council of Florence in October, 1439. Vespasiano da Bisticci has written a short life of him.

For Cesarini we have, besides other authorities, a most attractive life by Vespasiano da Bisticci, which gives us a clear picture of his gentleness and tact as well as his sterling worth. The eulogium of Poggio pronounced on Cesarini's death also contains some information about him.

Other details about the Council are to be found in the *Formicarius* of Johannes Nider, a Dominican prior of Basel, who was employed in the negotiations with the Bohemians, and died in 1438. The *Formicarius* is a parable of the Christian life founded on the example of the ant; it gives many details of the religious life of the time, with incidental references to passing events.

18. *The Council of Basel and the Hussites.*

The labours of Herr Palacky and the munificence of the Austrian Government have made public a series of relations which enable us to follow in detail the proceedings of the Council with the Bohemians. These interesting works are printed in vol. i. of the *Monumenta Conciliorum sæculi decemiquinti*, and are written by members of the Council who took a leading part in the events which they record.

(1.) John Stojkovic of Ragusa has already been mentioned as an envoy of the University of Paris to urge the assembling of the Council, and as acting as Cesarini's representative at the opening. We have seen him taking a chief part in the disputation with the Bohemians at Basel in 1433. In 1435 he was sent by the Council to Constantinople to arrange matters with the Greeks; this proved a difficult task, and he remained at Constantinople till the beginning of 1438. In the same year he was sent to confer with the new King of the Romans, Albert of Austria, whom he found at the siege of Tabor. He entered the service of Felix V., and was by him made Cardinal, under the title of S. Sixtus, and died in 1444. He was staunch in his allegiance to the Council, but by an error he has been confounded with another John, '*ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος τῶν Λατίνων*,' 'provincialis Lombardiæ,' who was a disputant against Mark of Ephesus in the Council of Florence. It is impossible that John of Ragusa should have quitted Basel for Florence and have again returned to Basel. Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, identifies the orator at Florence with John of Montenegro, provincial of the Dominicans in Tuscany. The *Tractatus quomodo Bohemi reductisunt ad unitatem ecclesiæ*, in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 1358, begins with the first negotiations of the Council with the Boheimans

at the end of 1431, and gives all the documents relating to the preliminaries, and an account of the Conference till the end of February, 1433, when it abruptly ends. The relation of John of Ragusa to the Council concerning his Greek embassy is printed by CECCONI, *Studi Storici*, No. clxxviii.

(2.) Still more important is the *Liber Diurnus* of PETER OF SAAZ, *Mon. Concil.*, i., 289. Peter of Saaz was one of the Hussite representatives, and his journal covers the period of the presence of the Hussites in Basel in 1433. Besides its historical value, it throws much light on the feelings and opinions of the different sections of the Bohemians.

(3.) GILES CARLIER, dean of Cambray, one of the scholars of Gerson and D'Ailly at the University of Paris, went to the Council of Basel as the representative of his bishop. He was a famous theologian, and was one of the four disputants chosen by the Council to answer the Bohemians. He was one of the envoys who accompanied the Bohemians to Prag in April, 1433; he was also sent to Regensburg to meet Sigismund and the Bohemians in August, 1434, and again to the Diet of Brünn in 1435. Soon after this he saw the troubles impending over the Council, and judged it wisest to return to his Cathedral of Cambray early in 1436. His *Liber de Legationibus Concilii Basiliensis pro reductione Bohemorum* in *Mon. Concil.*, 361, gives an account of the three embassies in which he was engaged, as well as the second embassy to Prag in September, 1433, in which he did not take part.

(4.) THOMAS EBERNDORFER OF HOSELBACH was a leading member of the University of Vienna, who came to Basel as the University's representative in 1432 and stayed there till 1435, when he was bound to return, because he had taken an oath to the University that he would never consent to grant the Hussites the Communion under both kinds. He was, however, present, at Sigismund's request, at the Diet of Iglau in 1436. His *Diarium* in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 703, etc., covers the period from 1433 to 1436, and is especially valuable for the Diet of Iglau. Eberndorfer took part in several of the diets held later on, and laboured to make peace between the Council and Eugenius IV. He was at first an adherent of the Council, but would not follow it in its bitter antagonism to the Pope. He was afterwards engaged in the stormy politics of Austria till his death in 1464. Eberndorfer was a considerable writer of history. His *Chronicon Austriacum*, in Pez, *Scriptores Rerum Austriacarum*, ii., 689, is useful for the period of his own life-

time, though it is put together in the form of scattered notes rather than a consecutive history. He also wrote a *Liber Augustalis*, or history of the Emperors, and a *Chronicon Pontificum Romanorum*, which have not been printed; but Palacky, in his *Geschichte von Böhmen*, has made use of the MSS. and quotes passages from them.

(5.) The *Registrum* of JOHN OF TOURS in *Mon. Concil.*, i., 782, reaches to the departure of Rokycana from Prag in June, 1437. Of John we know little save that he was a notary who accompanied the Council's envoys to Bohemia.

19. *The Councils of Ferrara and Florence.*

The preliminary negotiations between the Greeks, the Pope, and the Council, tedious and unimportant as they may seem, are yet a most interesting record of diplomacy. Thanks to the diligence of a Florentine canon, CECCONI, *Studi Storici sul Concilio di Firenze*, Florence, 1869, we can study them at length. He has brought together and arranged the documents already printed, and has supplemented them largely from the Florentine and Vatican archives.

For the proceedings of the Council we have—

(1.) On the Latin side, the Acts of the Council first compiled from the Vatican archives in 1638, by Orazio Giustiniani, the Vatican librarian, and published in MANSI, *Concilia*, xxxi., and LABBE, *Concilia*, xiii., 825, etc. The important part of Giustiniani's collection is by ANDREA DE S. CROCE, a Roman, and pontifical advocate, whose work is thrown into the form of a dialogue between himself and Ludovico Pontano, a form which is not conducive to clearness of expression in a record of the sittings of a deliberative assembly.

(2.) On the side of the Greeks, who were in favour of the union, we have what is known as the *Acta Græca*, in MANSI and LABBE, as above. It is the work of a Greek who was present and who was well acquainted with everything that passed. It is principally engaged with an account of the disputes in the Council, and is evidently written from notes made at the time. It has no writer's name appended to it; but all the critics are agreed that it must be the work either of Dorotheus, Archbishop of Mitylene, or of Bessarion. The evidence is purely internal, and the arguments on either side are put forward by Fromman, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kircheneinsgung*, 69, etc., who argues for

Dorotheus, and by Vast, *Cardinal Bessarion*, Appendix I. I incline to think that Vast has made out a strong case in favour of Bessarion's authorship.

(3.) Sylvester Syropulus was a Greek ecclesiastic, who, under the title of *μέγας ἐκκλησιάρχης καὶ δικαιοφύλαξ*, went in attendance on the Patriarch Joseph. He wrote a history of the proceedings of the Greeks, to which he applies the title of *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*. His work was first published from a MS. in Paris by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II., in 1660. It was issued under the title *Vera Historia Unionis non veræ;* but the Latin translation which accompanies it is by no means to be trusted. The work of Syropulus is most interesting; for he tells us not so much the sessions of the Council as the private doings of its members, the dissensions among the Greeks, the persistency of Bessarion, and the pressure used by the Emperor. Syropulus signed the decree of the Council in favour of union, unwillingly, but afterwards repented, and wrote his History as a kind of retractation.

The theological points raised by the Council of Florence are many and interesting, and I have been reluctantly compelled to pass them by. The historical importance of the union entirely dwarfed its theological aspect, and it was the result of necessity, not of conviction. The whole aspect of the relations between the Eastern and Western Churches is drawn out with care and impartiality by Pichler, *Geschichte der Kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und Occident*, Munich, 1864. From the Papal point of view the history of the Council has been fairly set forth by Hefele, *Concilien Geschichte;* from the point of view of the Greek Church by an anonymous Russian writer (Professor Gorski in Moscow) whose work has been translated into English, *History of the Council of Florence*, by Basil Popoff, edited by Neale (London, 1861); and finally a German Protestant has dealt critically with the authorities, Fromman, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Florentiner Kircheneinsgung* (Halle, 1872). The real question in dispute is whether Syropulus or the *Acta Græca* is to be regarded as the record of what happened. There were clearly two parties amongst the Greeks from the beginning, and these two authorities express their different views. As a matter of history, it is not difficult to combine them; as a theological question affecting the proceedings of a general Council, there are greater difficulties. Added to the other difficulties in the way of arriving at the exact facts, we must remember that the Greeks and Latins knew little of one another's

language, which must have hindered an understanding on small points of discussion.

Even concerning the Union-decree itself many curious questions have arisen. Syropulus tells us that there were five original copies, signed by the Greeks; but the Protosyncellus Gregorius signed only the first on July 5, and refused to sign the others, which were submitted on July 20. The Pope was anxious to have several copies of the decree to circulate as widely as possible. Many more than five were current. BRÉQUIGNY, in vol. xliii. of *Mémoires de l'Academie de Belles Lettres de Paris* (1786), mentions ten copies, but none of them was the original. VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, in his *Life of Cesarini*, says that Cesarini was entrusted with the superintendence of the decree; wishing to keep the original at Florence in the Palazzo dei Signori, he consequently only gave copies to others. This original decree, with the signature of Gregorius, in the box in which Cesarini put it, is preserved in the Laurentian Library of Florence; it has been published by MILANESI in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, vol. vi., Nuova Serie (1857), p. 219.

The account of the reception of the union by the Greeks is given by GEORGE PHRANTZES, *Chronicon Majus*, bk. ii., in MIGNE'S *Patrologia*, clvi.

20. *The Ecclesiastical Policy of France and Germany.*

The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges is given in full in the *Ordonnances des Rois des France de la troisième Race*, vol. xiii., 267. Many documents concerning it are in PINSON, *Caroli Septemi Pragmatica Sanctio* (Paris, 1666), also *Traitez des Droits et Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane.*

For German affairs the documents are to be found in MÜLLER'S *Reichstagstheatrum unter Keyser Friedrich V.* (1713); KOCH, *Sanctio Pragmatica Germanorum* (1789); MÜNCH'S *Sammlung aller ältern und neuern Konkordate;* LEIBNITZ, *Mantissa Codicis Juris Gentium diplomatici;* WÜRDTWEIN, *Subsidia Diplomatica*, viii., ix.; BRAUN, *Notitia Historica*, vol. vi.

Besides these are the documents more immediately relating to Frederick III., in CHMEL'S *Materialien zur österreichischen Geschichte;* CHMEL'S *Regesten des Friedrich III.;* CHMEL'S *Zur Kritik der osterreichischen Geschichte* (1850-51); CHMEL'S *Literarische Reise* (1851). CHMEL has also written *Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich IV.*, which unfortunately reaches only to the year 1452.

We have need to hold fast by all the documentary evidence which we can obtain in order to check the narrative of ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, who is an excellent representative of the dangerous facility of a man of letters writing the history of things in which he himself took part. Valuable as are the writings of Æneas, we have always to allow for the strong personal element which they contain. No doubt Æneas tells us how things looked to him; but it is necessary to look beyond his narrative for the forces which were at work. The accounts of Æneas are to be found in his Commentaries in *Fea*, and his other Commentaries edited by GOBELINUS, in his *Historia Frederici*, of which the only complete edition is that of KOLLAR, *Analecia Vindobonensia*, ii., 2, etc., and in his letters, the chronological arrangement of which has been determined by VOIGT, in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, xvi., 323, where some are given that have not been previously published. There is a valuable criticism by BAYER, *Die Historia Frederici III. Imperatoris des Æneas Silvio di Piccolomini* (Prag, 1872).

The work, however, which guides us through the complications of German ecclesiastical policy in this period is PÜCKERT, *Die Kurfürstliche Neutralaïtt während des Basler Concils* (Leipzig, 1858). Pückert has used as his material the papers in the Dresden archives, consisting of instructions to ambassadors, correspondence, and drafts of negotiations, drawn up during the period of the prevalence of the oligarchical policy, between 1438 and 1448. He has disregarded Æneas Sylvius, and gives us the diplomacy without the picturesque details.

For a more general view of this period, DROYSSEN'S *Geschichte Preussens Politik*, vols. i. and ii., is excellent.

21. *Nicolas V.*

(1.) For Nicolas V. we are lucky in possessing the Life written by GIANOZZO MANETTI in MURATORI, iii., pt. ii., 907. Manetti, as the Pope's secretary, who was employed in literary work, had ample opportunities of seeing and estimating the activity of the Pope, which he celebrates in a tone of ardent eulogy. Yet Manetti is given to bombast, and strives to lend an air of miraculous greatness to his subject. The value of Manetti's Life is not so much political as literary and artistic. He gives accurate details of the buildings contemplated and erected by Nicolas V., of his work in gathering MSS., of the treasures of every sort which

he collected. For this reason his book is a storehouse of information for the architectural and artistic history of the early Renaissance. The 'Testamentum Nicolai V.,' which forms the third book of his Life, can hardly be regarded as strictly historical. No doubt Nicolas V. addressed his Cardinals, and no doubt he said something of the sort which Manetti attributes to him ; but we are not to take this *testamentum* as a literal account of the Pope's last words. 'Hæc et alia quædam hujus modi *memoriter* peroravit,' says Manetti. His speech is to be regarded as a speech of Thucydides—it graphically expresses the tendencies and aims of the life of Nicolas V., but it is not to be taken as his own view of himself.

The Life of PLATINA is a tolerable compendium of events, but is marked by no special merit.

The Life by VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI is one of Vespasiano's best and happiest. He knew Nicolas V. as a book collector in his days of poverty, and the sympathy of a common taste connected the two men. Vespasiano's account of his interview with Nicolas V. after his accession to the Pontificate is a piece of life-like description.

Besides these we have a valuable authority for Nicolas V. in GEORGIO, *Vita Nicolai Quinti* (Rome, 1742). Georgio was chaplain to Pope Benedict XIV. and had access to the Vatican archives, which he used in compiling his work.

For the early life of Nicolas V. we have much information in ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, *Commentarius*, ed. FEA. The circumstances of the death of Eugenius IV. and the election of Nicolas V. are related at length by Æneas in a *relatio* to Frederick III., printed by MURATORI, iii., pt. ii., 878, etc.

(2.) For German affairs we have ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *Vita Friderici III.*, with the same authorities to check it as have been mentioned before. Interesting, however, are the brief remarks of MATTHIAS DÖRING, the continuator of the chronicle of Engelhus, in MENCKEN, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, iii., 1, etc. Döring was a Franciscan professor of theology at Erfurt and minister of Kiritz in Saxony ; his share of the continuation of Engelhus seems to extend from 1420-1464. He is chiefly concerned with the affairs of Saxony and Brandenburg ; but his pronounced personality makes him speak out, and his opinions on matters of ecclesiastical as well as general politics show us the tone of independent German feeling. Thus of the year of jubilee he says, 'Magnus populus Romam visitavit propter spem vanam absolucionis sine restitucione injuste

detentorum et ablatorum'. He calls Frederick 'Rex Romanorum, verius Judæorum'. Of his conduct towards the crusade he says, 'In his omnibus Imperator Fredericus Australis sedit in domo, plantans ortos et capiens aviculas ignavus'. These are but samples of the flashes of suppressed scorn which illumine Döring's pages.

For the activity of Fra Capistrano in Hungary we have several letters of his and of his followers in WADDING, *Annales Fratrum Minorum*, vol. vi., especially the letters of Giovanni da Tagliacozzo and Nicola de Fara, who tell of Capistrano's death; but they magnify his acts with a view to his canonisation.

For Frederick III.'s coronation ÆNEAS SYLVIUS' *Historia Frederici* is almost a journal of events. We have also *Desponsatio et Coronatio Frederici Imperatoris tertii*, by NICOLAS LANCKMAN VON FALKENSTEIM, one of Frederick's envoys to Portugal, who accompanied Leonora, and gives a diary of the diplomatic and ceremonial proceedings in which he was engaged. It is printed in PEZ, *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, ii., 572, etc. CHMEL, *Regesta Frederici III.*, i. Anhang, publishes a *Descriptio introitus Im. Frederici III.*, by GOSWIN MANDOCTES, who calls himself 'cantor in capella papæ,' and was an eye-witness.

Further materials for German affairs are given by ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *Oratio adversus Australes*, in MANSI, *Pii II. Orationes*, i., 184. Mansi also publishes a work of Æneas Sylvius, *De Ratisbonensi Dieta*, iii., 1, etc. The crusading zeal of the Duke of Burgundy is narrated by MATTHIEU DE COUSSY (ed. Buchon), the excellent continuator of Monstrelet.

(3.) The conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro is an interesting episode in the history of the city of Rome, and as such excited considerable attention. The authorities are INFESSURA, *Diarium*, in MURATORI, iii., pt. ii., 1134, who gives a brief account of affairs as he had gathered them; he is full of the Roman spirit, and calls Porcaro 'uomo di bene ed amatore della sua patria'. More important is the account by the great architect, LEO BATTISTA ALBERTI, *De Conjuratione Porcaria*, in MURATORI, xxv., 293. Alberti, as an aristocrat and a friend of Nicolas V., regards with horror this attempt against the Pope, and has no interest in the Roman side of the question. An interesting work has recently been published by PERLBACH, *Petri de Godis, Dyalogon de Conjuratione Porcaria* (1879). Piero de Godi was a native of Vicenza, apparently a curial, as his Dialogue, written at the time, is full of admiration

of the Pope and detestation of Porcaro. It contains much information about Roman affairs. Still more important is TOMMASINI. *Documenti relativi a Stefano Porcari* (Rome, 1879), who publishes a letter from a Florentine resident in Rome, which was clearly the basis of the account given by MACHIAVELLI in his *Storia Fiorentina*, and is a plain account given by an observer of events. Tommasini also publishes *Conformatio Curie Romane loquentis edita per Joseph B.* (probably Giuseppe Bripio, a learned Milanese in the employment of Nicolas V.). This is a poem celebrating the deliverance of Nicolas V.; its importance has already been noticed by Ranke, *Die Römische Päpste*, Anhang i., but it is now published entire, and enables us to compare the views of another writer with those of Manetti on the greatness of the works of Nicolas V.

22. *Calixtus III.*

It was natural that a man like Calixtus III., succeeding one like Nicolas V., should meet with small affection from men of letters. After the copious materials for Nicolas V. we have little about Calixtus III. His Life, by PLATINA, is short and almost contemptuous, yet does full justice to the excellent intentions of the Pope, and his blameless private life, save as regards nepotism. The Life of Capranica, by POGGIO, in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, iii., 263, gives us some information of the feeling of the Cardinals. We have also the letters of ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, and the mention in his *Commentaries*, ed. GOBELINUS. For Germany the authorities remain the same. For the crusading projects of Calixtus III. we have the documents in WADDING, vi., and many mentions in SANUDO, *Vite dei Duchi di Venezia*, in MURATORI, xxii., 1158, etc.: also documents in THEINER, *Monumenta Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. ii.; and in D'ACHERY, *Spicilegium*, iii. A somewhat inflated account is given by LEODRSIUS CRIBELLI, *De Expeditione Pii II. in Turcas*, in MURATORI, xxiii., 21, &c.

23. *Pius II.*

For the Pontificate of Pius II. we are exceptionally well supplied with materials, of which the most important the *Commentarii Pii II.*, which are supplemented by the *Cardinalis Papiensis Commentarii* in the Frankfort edition of 1614. Ammannati begins his Commentaries with the Crusade of Pius II., and so takes up the story where Pius ceases. Besides these we have *Vita Pii II.*, by

his friend CAMPANO, in MURATORI, iii., part ii., 969; and also his Life by his secretary, PLATINA. Campano writes in the humanistic strain, somewhat as a discreet panegyrist of one whom he feels to be unpopular with his readers. Platina, on the other hand, looks back upon the days of Pius II. as golden in comparison with those of Paul II., and writes with genuine affection and respect. It is customary to speak in terms of high praise of the biography of Campano; but I find it laboured, and though it contains many intimate details, yet it has little real power of characterisation and is badly put together. The Life of Platina, on the other hand, is by far his best work, and though to some extent founded upon Campanus, it is full of individual appreciation of an extremely attractive man.

Besides these Lives, the letters of AMMANNATI, following the *Commentarii* in the Frankfort edition of 1614, as well as the letters of CAMPANO, and FILELFO, tell us much of Pius II. in his personal and literary character.

For Italian affairs under Pius II. we have, as of special value, SIMONETA, *De Rebus gestis Francisci Sfortiæ*, in MURATORI, xxi. Simoneta's account of the relations of Sforza and the Pope regarding Neapolitan affairs gives us Sforza's view, while Pius II. in his Commentaries tells his own. It is interesting to compare the two, and the comparison affords material for appreciating Pius II.'s estimate of his own doings. For the Neapolitan wars we have JOVIANUS PONTANUS, *De Bello Neapolitano*. Pontano was a literary favourite of Ferrante, and was present with him in several expeditions during the campaign. Pontano was a highly-gifted man, a poet, an astronomer, and a philosopher, as well as a historian; but his chief claim to glory will not rest on his historical merits. His book aims at imitating Livy, and is neither good for military nor political history, but confuses, in an attempt after the graces of style, the accounts even of things which he himself saw. COSTANZO has used Pontano, and supplemented him from other sources.

For a brief account of Pius II. in relation to Siena we have *Fragmentum Historiæ Senensis*, by FRANCESCO TOMMASIO, in MURATORI, xx., 55. For the wars of Federigo of Montefeltro, and Piccinino, we have the *Chronicon Eugubinum* of GUERNIER DE BERNI, in MURATORI, xxi., 923. This chronicle deals with events, as seen at Gubbio, from 1350 to 1472. Berni served under Federigo, and dedicates his book to him; his avowed object is to

contrast the miserable state of Gubbio from internal dissensions in former times with the happiness and glory which it enjoys under the rule of the Montefeltri. Federigo of Urbino has two historians, who date from the middle of the sixteenth century—GIROLAMO MUZIO and BERNARDINO BALDI, who both used documents preserved at Urbino. The only English book that deals with any thoroughness with Italian history of the period which I have traversed is DENISTOUN'S *History of the Duke of Urbino* (1851).

There are many incidental mentions in SANUDO, *Vite de' Duchi di Venezia*, in MURATORI, xxii., a work founded on a knowledge of Venetian documents. Still more important are the *Annali Veneti* of DOMENICO MALIPIERO, published in vol. vii. of the first series of the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. These annals cover the period from 1457 to 1500, and are written with the care which distinguishes the Venetian writers of this and the following century. Malipiero was born in 1428, and died in 1515; he took part in the conduct of Venetian affairs, and had access to documents which he has incorporated in his work. The Annali are divided into two parts, 'Delle Guerre coi Turchi,' and 'Delle Guerre d'Italia'. The first part enables us to judge of the crusading schemes of Pius II.

For the proceedings of the Congress of Mantua we have a brief narrative from NICOLAS PETIT, a French ambassador, in D'ACHERY, *Spicilegium*, vol. ii., 806, where are also some other documents relating to the Congress. Other accounts of the Congress and the subsequent proceedings of the Duke of Burgundy in relation to the crusade are given by the two excellent Burgundian contemporary chronicles, MATTHIEU DE COUSSY and JACQUES DU CLERCQ (ed. Buchon). They also tell us much of the dealings of Pius II. with Louis XI. The documents relating to the Pragmatic Sanction are to be found in *Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane.*

For Pius II. and Germany we have the authorities already mentioned for Frederick III., with a number of other sources of information about points of detail. For the strife of Nicolas of Cusa and Sigismund of the Tyrol we have the results of a diligent investigation amongst the archives of the Bishopric of Brixen, preserved at Innsbruck, in a lengthy work by JÄGER, *Der Streit des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa, mit dem Herzoge Sigismund von Osterreich als Grafen von Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1866). The interesting controversy with Heimburg is given in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, ii., 1587, etc., and in FREHER, *Germanicarum Rerum Scriptores*, ii. 120, etc. A work

which deals with Heimburg in detail is BROCKHAUS, *Gregor von Heimburg*, Leipzig, 1861, which has, however, the qualities of a biography rather than a history. For the dealings of Pius II. with the Archbishopric of Mainz we have a narrative by a citizen of Mainz, *Nachricht von der Unterjochung der Stadt Mainz*, published by BODMANN, in vols. iv. and v. of the *Rheinishes Archiv* (1811).

For Bohemian affairs we have important sources of information in PALACKY, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens in Zeitalter Georg's von Podebrad*, forming vol. xx. of *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*. Most valuable is the *Historia Wratislaviensis* of PETER ESCHENLOER, edited by MARKGRAF, in vol. vii. of *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*. Eschenloer was a native of Nürnberg, who came as town clerk to Breslau in 1455, and died in 1481. His history extends from 1457 to 1471, but after the year 1468 becomes annalistic as though his interest were gone. About the relation of the Latin version of Eschenloer to a German version published by KUNISCH in 1827 I must refer to Markgraf's preface and LORENZ, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen*, ii., 234. As a supplement to Eschenloer, MARKGRAF has also published *Politische Correspondenz Breslau's*, 1454-1463, vol. viii. of *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*. It contains several reports and letters of Fantinus, the Papal envoy in Bohemia. The entire period of the Catholic reaction in Bohemia is largely illustrated by KLOSE, *Documentirte Geschichte und Beschreibung von Breslau* (1780), of which vol. iii. is full of valuable information respecting the attitude of the Catholics towards King George. For this period of Bohemian history, besides PALACKY'S *Geschichte Böhmens*, we have an excellent work by JORDAN, *Das Konigthum Georg's von Podebrad*, Leipzig, 1861, which treats especially of the ecclesiastical side of George's political position.

For the whole period comprised by the Life of Pius II., I am under great obligations to VOIGT, *Æneas Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1856-63.

END OF VOL. II.

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